



J. Chapman sc.

London published Feb^r 20 1798 for T. N. Longman & J. D. Brett.



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THE
L I F E
OF
CATHARINE II.
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH ELEVEN ELEGANT PORTRAITS,
A VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF SCHLUSSELBURG,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

THE FOURTH EDITION,
WITH GREAT ADDITIONS AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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L I F E

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. XIII.

Transactions at the court of St. Petersburg.—Bobrinsky.—Seminary of jesuits established at Mobilef.—Letter to the pope.—Literary works of the empress.—Statue of Peter the great.—Institution of the order of St. Vladimir.—The Krimea described.—Second interview with the king of Sweden.—Peace of Frederiksham.—The Taurian Palace.—Death of count Panin and of prince Orlof. 1782, 1783, 1784.

THE brothers Gregory and Alexius Orlof had long been retired from court. All at once they again made their appearance, and were almost utter strangers to each other. Both of them were married*, and were just come from their travels in

* Gregory Orlof had married the young countess Zinovief, his niece, maid of honour to the empress. He had no chil-

in France, Italy, and England. Gregory, unable to bear the sight of an all-powerful rival, absented himself again without delay.

Bobrinsky too about this time returned to Petersburg. This darling son, whom the empress had by Gregory Orlof *, seemed destined to arrive at the first dignities of the Empire. But the bad habits he contracted on his travels rendered useless the tenderness of his mother, and the care she had bestowed on his education.

Bobrinsky having finished his studies at Leipzick and at Lausanne, Catharine wished to give him in charge to some person whose sagacity, learning, and prudence, rendered him worthy of so much confidence. In order to find such a man, she applied to count Betzkoï, marshal of the court, director of the imperial corps of cadets, and a flatterer of uncommon assiduity. Betzkoï†, who thought of little else than the advancement of his family, and who imagined that the natural son of Catharine would necessarily make the fortune of whoever should serve him in the capacity of governor, assured the empress that lieutenant-

dren by his marriage. Alexius had only a daughter, who was afterwards married to the son of general Panin.

* Catharine had also by Gregory Orlof a daughter, who either died young, or is living in obscurity.

† He was a natural son of prince Trubetzkoi. It being the custom in Russia for bastards to take the name of the father, leaving out the first syllable, this was called Betzkoï.

colonel

colonel Ribas, his son-in-law, was the fittest person for filling that office. The empress believed him. Bobrinsky, at that time gentle, modest, docile, quitted Russia under the tutelage of Ribas, and returned to it with that perversity of manners and insolence; which he could not fail to acquire from the lessons and the examples of his licentious tutor *.

Though

* Ribas, who became vice-admiral of the galley-fleet, stationed at Nicolaëf, on the Euxine, was born at Naples, of a Spanish family. His father, who was called Boujon, was a farrier at Barcelona. When the Spanish army marched into Italy for the establishment of Don Carlos, Boujon performed some petty services to general De Los Rios; which procured him his attachment. Being come to Naples, he sent for Ribas; and Los Rios, who was appointed minister at war, employed him in his office. Young Ribas was made sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Sania. Some little affair about the fabrication of false passports and forged patents obliged him to quit Naples. He made for Leghorn, where the squadron under the command of Alexey Orlof was then at anchor. The admiral, who had reason to know him to be a very ignorant, and not very scrupulous man; gave him a brevet of lieutenant of one of the ships; and employed him to commence the stratagem that was practised on the unhappy daughter of Elizabeth. He afterwards sent him off to Petersburg with tidings that the victim was fallen into his hands. Ribas, being arrived at Petersburg, was regarded with favourable eyes by the daughter of M. Betzkoï, and they were married. He was at the same time appointed lieutenant-colonel, and assistant to his father-in-law. After having attended Bobrinsky through France and Italy, he was promoted to the ranks of brigadier and colonel of the

Though extremely afflicted at the deviations of Bobrinsky, the empress long bore with them like an indulgent parent. But seeing that the presence of this thoughtless youth would expose her too often to confusion, she determined to send him into a sort of exile at Reval *.

On her journey to Mohilef, the empress had observed that the people of White Russia, who for the most part professed the romish religion, were strongly attached, not only to that faith, but to the jesuits. Considering afterwards that there was no great danger in permitting these monks to live in a corner of her vast dominions, whereas, on the other hand, it would be advantageous to her to flatter the opinion of the inhabitants of the new provinces, she appointed Shezronchevitch, a native of Poland, to be ca-

carabineers. At the siege of Otschakof, prince Potemkin made him chef-d'escadre. Shortly after he commanded the galley-fleet on the Danube, and was raised to be vice-admiral. It may easily be conceived what sort of a seaman he was.— We have been rather circumstantial in this note, in order to shew by what means advancement might be some times obtained at the court of Catharine.

* Bobrinsky was still at Reval at the time of the empress's decease. Shortly after his accession, Paul I. sent for him to Petersburg, called him publicly his brother, and restored to him his estate, presenting him with the palace of Gregory Orlof, situate on the Moika; at which palace was confined the brave general Kosciuszko and several other polish prisoners. Bobrinsky has since married a livonian lady.

tholic

tholic archbishop * of Mohilef, to whom she gave as coadjutor a jesuit named Benislaufsky.

At the same time she granted leave for the establishment of a seminary of jesuits, the direction of which was committed to father Gabriel Denkievitch, appointed vicar-general of his order.

Benislaufsky was shortly after dispatched to Rome, in quality of minister from the court of Russia. On requesting of the pope the establishment of the jesuits, he delivered to him, on the part of the empress, a letter, which, from respect to the greek christians, she disavowed in the gazette of Petersburg †, but which was not, therefore, the less written by her own hand. The following are a few fragments of it :

“ I know that your holiness is greatly embarrassed; but fear ill agrees with your character.
“ Your dignity cannot coincide with politics,
“ whenever politics are injurious to religion. The
“ motives by which I have been led to grant my
“ protection to the jesuits are founded on reason
“ and equity, as well as on the hope that they
“ will prove useful to my people. That company
“ of peaceable and harmless men shall live in my
“ empire, because, of all the catholic societies,
“ it is the best qualified to instruct my subjects,
“ and to inspire them with the sentiments of huma-

* Formerly an excellent officer of hussars in the prussian service : moreover, a very worthy archbishop.

† See the Petersburg gazette of the 20th of April.

“ nity and the true principles of the religion of
“ Christ.

“ I am resolved to support these priests against
“ any potentate whatever; and in so doing I only
“ fulfil my duty, since I am their sovereign, and
“ regard them as faithful, useful, and innocent
“ subjects. I am the more desirous to see four of
“ them invested with the power of administering
“ confirmation at Mosco and at Petersburg, as
“ the two catholic churches of those cities are
“ committed to their care. Who can tell whether
“ Providence may not have decreed these pious
“ men to be the instruments of that union, so long
“ devoutly desired, between the greek and roman
“ churches? Your holiness may banish every
“ fear, as I will support with all my power the
“ rights which you have received from Jesus
“ Christ.”

The ambassadors of France and Spain, amazed on seeing at Rome a minister accredited by the court of Russia, took various measures for discovering what might be the object of these negotiations. Pope Pius VI. himself informed them of it, and asked them what answer he should make. Each of them consulted his court, who would have nothing to do in the business; and the roman pontiff issued a bull declaring nul all that had been done to the contrary in that by which Clement IV. had suppressed the jesuits. But at the same time he sent to Petersburg the
polish

polish nuncio Archetti*, who consecrated the archbishop and the coadjutor of Mohilef, and consented, in the pope's name, to all that Catharine requested. In reward for the docility of Archetti, that princess asked and obtained for him the cardinal's hat †.

Perhaps Catharine might make the obtaining of this bull a matter of so much consequence, only because she imagined that all the jesuits of Europe and America would bring into White Russia their treasures and their industry. But, whatever were her expectations, the spoils of Paraguay never came to Mohilef. The disciples of Loyola were too artful to go and surrender themselves and their riches into the hands of a monarch so suddenly become their patron, and who was not in subjection to the see of Rome ‡.

* A nuncio could not be sent direct from Rome to Russia, as the nation was not catholic; therefore Archetti was ordered to Petersburg from Warsaw.

† Markof was dispatched to Rome to urge the promotion of Archetti to the cardinalate.

‡ Father O'Sullivan, a native of Ireland, being asked, prior to the promulgation of the annulling bull, how they could live as a body after the order had been solemnly abolished by the sovereign pontiff? the worthy jesuit hesitated to reply, and made several evasions; but at length, upon its being urged that they must certainly be prepared with an answer to a question which it was natural for them to expect, the good father said it lay in the maxim, *Lex non est lex nisi promulgata*. "Now," continued he, "the papal bull has never been published in the empress of Russia's dominions."

The empress at length completed the division of her provinces, and all of them enjoyed the benefit of the regulations which she had begun to introduce in 1776, in the governments of Tver and Smolensk. Every year of her reign was marked by fresh conquests and salutary institutions.

It has been before observed, that Catharine distinguished herself as an author. The noblest and truly affecting performances of her pen in this quality were undertaken from affection to her grandchildren. Hence arose the "Miscellaneous Pieces," or, "The library of the Grand-dukes." Pleasantry and instruction, natural history and description of manners, liveliness and gravity, the gay and the severe, are interchangeably blended together; and who is there but must admire the great woman, who, amidst the affairs of such an empire, resting entirely on her own personal energy, was so constantly attentive to the education of her successors? It has somewhere been thrown out with an air of importance, that the "Sketch of Russian History" was taken from Stritter's manuscripts: as if that were a matter of consequence! as if it were seriously expected that the empress should sit down to the tedious investigation of the transactions and authorities of the dark periods of slavonian history! as if any literary man, intending to deliver lessons of history to his children, would not adhere to the method observed by some authentic writer! But, that a ruler over ten
kingdoms

kingdoms should apply herself, with so much zeal and assiduity, in forming the minds of her imperial progeny, that she understood what was proper for them to learn, and took the pains to see that they were taught it well: this is worthy of particular notice by the pen of the historian; and the delightful "Tales of the tzarevitch Chlor," and that of the "Little Samoyede," will at once captivate the heart of every child, and please every thinking man. An empress wrote them, and drew none of the materials from any learned man's papers. She likewise composed several historical and moral essays, which have been since collected under the title of "Bibliotheque des grands-ducs Alexandre et Constantin."

Catharine was eminently respectable in the circle of her family. With a severe, but always fond concern, the only proper method of treating children, in contradiction to her maternal tenderness, when it was necessary to maintain the authority of the preceptor, she prosecuted the culture of the affections and talents of her grandsons, and lived to see herself amply rewarded for the cares she bestowed. She conversed with the tutor in their presence; and, when they were absent, wrote marginal remarks on their lessons, one while addressed to the scholars, and at others to the teacher. One instance of this kind may suffice. The subject of the morning had been, the nature of the government in Switzerland, on which the
tutor

tutor had discoursed in conformity with his liberal turn of mind. On returning to their studies the following day, they read at the bottom of the exercise, in the hand-writing of her majesty, "*Monseigneur l'Harpe, continuez vos leçons de cette sorte; vos sentimens me plaisent beaucoup* *."

The education of the young princesses was committed to the widow of lieutenant-general Lieven, a lady of superior understanding and merit.

This year was marked by the inauguration of the famous statue of Peter I. a work in which the genius of Stephen Falconet so happily seconded the intention of Catharine.

The empress having resolved to erect in the city of Petersburg an equestrian statue of Peter the Great, she wrote to Falconet at Paris, to come and execute that monument. He conceived the design of having for the pedestal of his statue a huge and rugged rock, to indicate to posterity, whence the heroic legislator had set out, and what obstacles he surmounted.

An idea so novel and so sublime met with general approbation: and now the business was to find a mass of stone which in shape and bulk might correspond with the grandeur of the design.

Chance, which is only favourable to great undertakings, and does nothing for mediocrity, stepped

* M. L'Harpe (not La Harpe) retired afterwards to Switzerland his native country, where he has distinguished himself in a revolution.

in to assist the discovery. Near the village Lachta in Karelia, a rock was found, which Nature had placed in a vast morass, not far from a bay formed by the gulph of Finland. At first sight of this mass it was deemed proper for the execution of the views of the artist. On measuring it, it was found, that the height of it, taken from the horizontal line, was twenty-one feet by forty-two in length, and thirty-four in breadth.

The very idea of moving such an enormous mass was sufficient of itself to deter any persons from the attempt: but under the reign of Catharine II. difficulties were no hindrances to the execution of a plan. Accordingly the bold project, worthy of the ancient Romans, was formed for transporting this rock to Petersburg.

In order to this, a beginning was made by removing the ground to discover its foundations. It was natural to imagine, that what appeared above the morass was no more than the summit of a rock which sunk deep in the bosom of the earth; but the workmen were justly surpris'd in finding that this solid mass of stone was absolutely detached, and lay upon the ground as if placed there by a miracle.

To this singular discovery another succeeded not less remarkable: which was, that in all this vast morass, and its environs, not another stone was to be found, nor even gravel or sand, or any other kind

kind of substance, analogous to this stupendous rock, or adapted to form its constituent parts.

But what struck the beholders with most astonishment was the interior of the stone. A stroke of thunder had damaged it on one side. On knocking off the shattered fragment, instead of homogeneous particles, a collection of all sorts of precious stones appeared: crystals, agates, granites, topazes, cornelians, amethysts, presented to the eyes of the curious a sight not less unexpected than magnificent, and to the naturalists an object of interesting investigation*.

All these circumstances, which Nature had combined in this rock, were powerful motives for sparing neither pains, nor expence, nor labour, for drawing it from its place, and setting it as a monument, the only one of its kind in the world, and worthy of perpetuating the memory of the greatest of monarchs.

The first discovery of this stone had been made in the month of November, 1768. The labourers employed about it proceeded in their work so briskly, that, in the month of March, in the following year, they were able to raise it above the ground for placing it on grooves filled with

* Thousands of these, as well as other parts of the stone, were cut and polished into bracelets, rings, necklaces, snuff-boxes, heads of canes, &c. and found a very rapid sale, not only among people of fashion, but throughout the empire.

cannon-balls, and dragging it forward by windlasses towards Petersburg*.

One cannot sufficiently admire the ardour and the celerity with which, in so short a space of time, and in the most inclement season of the year, so much of this extraordinary enterprise was completed: but what remained to perform presented a far more arduous operation.

This immense stone was situate at the distance of eleven versts, or about forty-one thousand two hundred and fifty English feet from the spot where the monument was to be erected to which it was to serve as the pedestal.

On its transport thither it must pass over heights, cross morasses and swampy ways, be conveyed over rivers, fall down the Neva, be disembarked and drawn by land to the place of its destination.

Whoever would form a just idea of the greatness of this undertaking, and the labours it required, must consider that the weight of this enormous mass, geometrically calculated, amounted

* The mechanism for the conveyance of this rock was invented by count Carbury, who here went under the name of the chevalier Lascari. A solid road was first made from the stone to the shore; then brass slips were inserted under the stone to go upon cannon balls of five inches diameter in metal grooves, by windlasses worked by four hundred men, every day two hundred fathom towards the shore. The water transport was performed by what are called camels in the dockyards of Petersburg and Amsterdam, by which first-rates and other ships of war, &c. are lifted over shallows or bars of sand, to their place of destination.

to three millions two hundred thousand pounds. The largest obelisk that is known, that which Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, caused to be transported from Alexandria to Rome, weighs only nine hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, which does not come up to the third part of the weight of the rock of Petersburg.

Such is the stone which supports the equestrian statue of the legislator of Russia. The history of the arts knows of nothing either so great or so marvellous.

The statue itself is truly a master-piece. Falconet has succeeded in the resemblance to admiration; the features of the czar's countenance are wonderfully well expressed*. The artist represents the hero on horseback as in the act of ascending a steep rock, the summit of which he proposes to attain. Peter is crowned with laurels and in an asiatic dress; he extends his right arm with great dignity, while with the left he holds the bridle of his horse, whose beauty of form and elegant attitude captivate the admiration of all spectators. He stands only on his hinder-feet, and is in the attitude of a fiery courser resolved to

* In the model of the head of the hero the artist Falconet disclaimed all merit. It was the production of a lady, mademoiselle Collot, who afterwards was married to Peter Falconet, the son of the artist, and is a performance of uncommon excellence.

attain the summit of the rock. To combine solidity with excellence was therefore difficult; but this the ingenious artist found a way to accomplish. The brazen serpent which is trampled on by the horse, is emblematical, doubtless, of opposition to the views of the monarch; but it artfully serves likewise to give an equipoise to the statue; the point of bearing is by this means not perceived, which is the full and flowing tail of the horse gently falling on the serpent writhing with pain*.

Too much of the stone was chipped off by M. Falconet, so that at last it was in want of an addition. It is grounded on piles closely driven; and has on the side towards the admiralty, in letters of cast metal: PETRU PERVOMU EKATERINA VTORAIA. 1782. and on the side next the

* The fount of the statue was likewise done by M. Falconet, in a house built on purpose adjacent to the stone. The metal is a bronze of copper with some tin and zinc, and weighed forty-four thousand and forty-one rufs pounds; the iron inserted in the hinder part of the horse, to preserve the balance, was 10,000 pounds in weight. The head, the arms, the feet, and the drapery of the rider, are of the thickness of three, and the body of four lines; the head and the fore feet of the horse are three lines thick; but the thickness increases hindwards to one inch. Few founts of such a magnitude have ever been so thin. It is a colossal statue, the figure of the monarch being eleven feet in height, and the height of the horse seventeen feet.

senate the same in Latin: PETRO PRIMO CATHARINA SECUNDA *.

On the day † of the ceremonious disclosure of this noble monument to the public, the empress appeared in the balcony of the senate-house, and solemnized the event by the distribution of gold and silver medals, and by a gracious ukase, which put an end to every process of more than ten years standing, discharged all debtors who had been five years in confinement, and remitted all debts to the crown below the sum of five hundred rubles ‡.

In

* See the statue, on the day of its first exposure to the public, and its situation, faithfully represented in the central compartment of our third plate in this work.

† The 7th of August, 1782.

‡ The expence of this monument was truly imperial. The transport of the rock, its pedestal, from Lachta, cost seventy thousand rubles. Falconet's salary for nine years came to forty-eight thousand rubles, and he received twenty-six thousand eight hundred rubles as a compensation for free quarters: he was paid apart for the foundery seventeen thousand five hundred rubles; his three assistants twenty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-four rubles; the melter Kailoff two thousand five hundred rubles, &c.: all together amounting, by the accounts of the office for public buildings, to four hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and ten rubles.—Mademoiselle Collot acquired such great reputation by composing the head of the hero, that she was employed to make a bust of the empress in marble, and engaged by many of the nobility in works of like nature for them. The medallion of the late lady Cathcart, who died in

1772,

In the mean time, the fury of the plague, which, through the summer and autumn of the year 1782, had most cruelly ravaged all the tartar and turkish countries on the frontiers of Russia and Poland, had served to restrain the no less cruel ravages of war; and in particular had greatly checked the operation of the russian armies, who were much more intent on guarding against the approaches of that fell enemy, than on gratifying ambition at the expence of any other.

Before the effect of the late pacific counsels could be known, the porte had the mortification to discover, that the impatience and haughtiness of its great neighbours were too extreme to admit of their listening to arguments, or waiting the slow result of negotiations. The emperor of Germany now pulled off the mask, and avowed his determination of supporting all the claims and pretensions of Russia, as well as his own; and the engagements between both were declaredly reciprocal. Towards the close of the year 1782, two very strong, and, as they were called, spirited memorials, were presented from the courts of Peterburg and Vienna; in which, besides other things, it was peremptorily insisted, that the

1772, at Peterburg, for her monument in Scotland, is the work of her chisel. This female artist, during her stay in Russia, by her indefatigable industry, gained a competency of about fifty thousand rubles.

porte should not in future, under any pretence, intermeddle in the affairs of the Tartars; that the privileges of the two provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia should not be infringed; and that the free navigation of the Euxine and the Archipelago should not in any manner be obstructed. The consequences of a failure with respect to these demands could not be more fully explained than they already were, by the appearance of the armies on the frontiers, and of the vast preparations for war which had been made by both the parties.

The part which necessity compelled the porte to take had been already decided in her own councils; but it was necessary to preserve some appearances of dignity. Every preparation was made as if war had been determined upon; and some of the turkish officers upon the emperor's frontiers, in their eagerness for that event, and perhaps mistaking these appearances for realities, committed some irregularities which afforded room for complaint. The porte, likewise desperate as its circumstances were, gave an immediate instance of spirit, in the punishment of one of its officers or vassals. The hospodar of Valakhia was long known to be strongly attached to the russian interest, and was likewise suspected, probably with justice, of keeping up a private, but constant correspondence with that people. Two of his sons, some time before, had made a seeming escape, as if pursued by enemies, from their father's court, and

and fled to Vienna. With all these unfavourable circumstances, the proposition in the late memorials, relative to the privileges of that province, was supposed to originate from this man, and partly to relate to him. However these things were, the hospodar was condemned to the bow-string, in a few days after the memorials had been presented. It is little to be doubted but that he hoped, in case a new arrangement of territorial dominion should take place, that the principality might, upon certain conditions, be rendered hereditary in his family: an idea probably as problematical, as any he could possibly have entertained.

1783. Not long after this, Catharine instituted the order of St. Vladimir as a reward to such of her subjects as had faithfully served the country in any civil employment; having already created the military order of St. George *, the grand cordon of which is only given to generals who have gained a battle. It must be owned that the hope of obtaining this recompence has probably procured many a victory to Russia. None knew better than Catharine what influence the decorations of vanity have upon mankind.

Russia now beheld the rapid increase of the advantages derived from her late conquests. Her commerce on the Euxine was making fresh pro-

* For a brief account of these orders the reader is referred to the second volume.

gress from day to day. The russian vessels passed the Dardanelles, and proceeded to trade at Aleppo, at Smyrna, and in the ports of Italy. The racey and delicious wines of Greece were brought into White Russia; and thence were sent over all Poland.

Catharine had recently caused the foundations to be laid of the city of Kherfon, on the shores of the Dniepr, at the distance of about ten leagues from Otchakof; and prince Potemkin accelerated the works with incredible activity. He was frequently seen to set out from Petersburg, fly as it were to the banks of the Dniepr*, and make his appearance again on those of the Neva†, in less time than would be requisite for an ordinary man to perform the journey to Mosco. Kherfon already counted forty thousand inhabitants within its walls; and from its yards were launched not only vessels for the purposes of commerce, but ships of war destined to strike terror into the ottoman empire.

* Kherfon, founded in 1778, is situated on the shores of the Dniepr, a little above the mouth of the Bogue, and in the neighbourhood of the Liman, a swampy lake, the entrance of which is guarded by the fortress of Kinburn, and is about a mile over. The Liman has depth enough for the reception of large vessels; but they very quickly decay in it, as the water is fresh. The antient city of Kherfon was situate some miles to the southwest of the spot where the Russians have built Sevastopol.

† The distance from Petersburg to Kherfon is two thousand versets.

This

This advantage rekindled the ambition of the empress and Potemkin. They longed with equal ardour for the conquest of a country without which they could not hope to realize their plans against the turkish empire, and the possession whereof would probably be sufficient to compensate the failure of those plans. Catharine began by detaching the Krimea from Turkey, and immediately resolved to invade it. The fertility of that country is still a matter in dispute: but the resources it affords to her armies, and the advantages it holds out to commerce*, cannot be called in question. The importance of the Krimea being so great in the opinion of Catharine, a short description of it will be here expected.

The Krimea is a narrow peninsula, to which may be applied what Strabo says of Spain in comparing it to a bull's hide stretched out. It is about 75 leagues in circuit, situated about 2050 versts to the south of Pétersburg, between the 51st and 54th degrees of longitude, and about the 46th degree of latitude. Its shores on the south and the west are laved by the Euxine; the sea of Azof or the Palus Mœotis, and the straits of Zabache, in-

* Of what benefit it was to the antient Greeks, and afterwards to the Genoese, who got possession of it in 1371, and were driven out of it in 1475, by khan Bangli-Gueray, is well known.—For a more particular account of the Krim, see that transmitted by the writer hereof to the Gent's Mag. August 1786, and thence copied into Ann. Reg. vol. xxviii. p. 129.

close it to the east and the north. The isthmus which joins it to the continent is not, in breadth, above a league and a half. From this isthmus, on which is built the fortress of Perekop *, to the hill Karasubazar, the country is only a vast plain, rising insensibly to the top of the hill, which forms the southern coasts.

The plain which extends from Perekop to the river Sargir is in length about five and twenty leagues. It contains a great number of morasses and lakes, which furnish salt to the provinces adjacent to Russia, to the Crimea itself, to Natolia, and to Bessarabia.

Almost the whole plain may be traversed without meeting with a running stream. The inhabitants of that part are obliged to construct, contiguous to each house, reservoirs for the preservation of rain-water. The land is there destitute of trees of all kinds. Not a single shrub, not even a briar, is to be seen. The plants cultivated there are in a wretched condition. This nakedness of the ground, however, is not to be attributed to the defect of fertility, but to the numerous herds and flocks continually roaming about this part of the Crimea, devouring or destroying the vegetables it produces, at the very instant they appear.

* The tartars call it Or-kapi.

The inclination of the Tartars for the nomadic life, and their aversion to agriculture, is the reason that this country is left to desolation. But if these people could be once brought to divide the land between them, there would be pasturage enough, and the remainder would abundantly produce the vegetables necessary to life. If one Tartar would addict himself to the culture of the earth, his labour would suffice to supply the wants of a hundred of his countrymen.

The Krimea may be divided into two parts; the flat country and the mountainous. The former, which extends from Perekop to Koslof, and from the river Bulganack to Karasubazar, to Keffa, and to Yeni-kaly, is sprinkled with a number of small villages, the inhabitants whereof live upon the profits arising from salt and the products of their cattle. The mountains lie to the south, along the Euxine; and, in a right line extend to the west, from Keffa as far as the vicinity of Belbek.

The two most considerable rivers of the Krimea are, the Salgir and the Karasu; which fall into the Palus Mœotis. The former takes its source not far from Achmetshed, and the second arises near Karasu-bazar: from which place, after having irrigated the adjacent plain, it flows into the Salgir. All the other rivers and streams that fall from the chain of mountains, beginning at Keffa, take a north and north-east course, excepting that which issues from mount Akta, beyond Achmetshed. The other rivers fall into the Euxine;

these are, the Amna, the Katsha, the Belbek, the Kafuli.

The mountains are covered with forests of timber trees, the haunts of savage beasts. The land of the vallies is fertile; and for being prolific, waits only for the hand of the labourer. Grain of all kinds and the vine flourish on their declivities*. The mountains contain mines, which are supposed to be extremely rich; but the mountaineers despise these natural bounties: the produce of their flocks, and a little bread suffice them for subsistence†.

The isle of Taman, situate at the entrance of the straight which connects the sea to Azof with the Euxine is rich and very populous‡.

* Excellent wine is made in the borders of Sudak. Prince Potemkin engaged a frenchman, named Banc, to set up a brandy distillery there. This brandy is equal to the best Cognac. Banc had already carried on a distillery at Astrakan; and he affirms that the brandy of Sudak is of a superior quality.

† The myrzas, or nobles, and all the opulent Tartars in general, reside continually in the country; never coming into towns but on matters of business. They have no courts of judicature in the country. Disputes are extremely rare; and whenever they happen, they are decided on the spot by the authority of the koran. Petty differences, that arise in the villages, and cannot be adjudged by the koran, are amicably settled by the elders or abeses. But in the towns, all affairs of importance, excepting cases of murder, are brought before the kaïma-khan, or commandant, who pronounces without appeal.

‡ The isle of Taman was for some time depopulated by the effects of the war: but the Russians have transported thither a strong colony of Zaporogian Kozaks.

The

The Kuban, a vast and arid desert, which extends from the frontiers of the Krimæa as far as the foot of mount Caucasus, has, like the Lesser Tartary, but a scanty population.

Such are the countries of which the court of Petersburg, since the peace of Kainardgi, had impatiently waited for the moment of getting possession.

These countries have frequently changed their masters. Already famous in the time of the Argonauts, about fourteen hundred years before the christian æra, they tempted the ambition of the Greeks, who established colonies there, built the antient city of Kherfon, and gave the peninsula the name of Kherfonesus taurica. This peninsula was then inhabited by Scythians, whose frequent aggressions compelled the grecian colonies to sue to Mithridates for succours against them. That prince drove the Scythians from the Kherfonesus taurica, and founded the kingdom of Bosphorus, comprehending the eastern part of the peninsula with all the region which has since obtained the appellation of the Kuban.

At the time of Diocletian the Sarmates made themselves masters of the Kherfonesus taurica. The Alanes succeeded to the Sarmates, they were expelled by the Goths, and these by the grecian kings: the country was afterwards successively subdued by the Huns, by the Hungarians*, by the Kozares, and even, in part, by the Polovtzes.

* The Hungarians are a colony of Huns.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, the Genoese conquered all the ports of the Euxine and the coasts of the taurican Kherfonefe. Some years afterwards the Mongoles and other Tartars drove the Polovtzes out of the territory of which they had got possession, and gave the town of Solgat the name of Krim *, whence shortly afterwards the whole peninsula obtained that of the Krimea.

The Genoese were still for a long time in possession of the ports of the Krimea. They even kept Keffa † till 1475, at which period it was captured from them by the Ottomans, who at the same time reduced all the Tartars of that peninsula. Lastly, in 1774 the Russians emancipated the Krimea from the yoke of the Turks, in the design of imposing on it a lighter.

Catharine had no other view in raising Sabim-Gueray to the place of khan ‡, than to make him the

* In the tartar language this appellation signifies a fortress. Some authors pretend that the name Krimea comes from the greek word Kimmerion.

† Keffa is the Theodosia of the antients, or the Cimmerium of antiquity.

‡ The khan had always been the eldest male of the Gueray family, of the race of Tschingis khan, unless debarred from the succession by some natural incapacity, or by the interference of the people, which occasionally happened, conferring their choice on another, but constantly one of the Gueray dynasty, being the eldest and nearest to the right line of descent. In process of time this family became very numerous, and it was difficult to determine whose claim was most valid; so that latterly

the instrument of her ambition ; she only loaded him with caresses and benefits, in order to render him a more resistless victim. That prince, of a mild but weak and open disposition, was far from suspecting the designs of the Russians. He was fond of the novelties, and delighted with the arts of Europe : the people of the court indulged his inclination ; they procured him the enjoyments of voluptuousness and the refinements of luxury. He presently learned to despise the manners of his country. He quitted his usual manner of eating, engaged a russian cook, and had his dinner served up upon plate. Instead of going on horseback, like the rest of his countrymen, he travelled and paraded about the streets in a magnificent berlin. Heedless of his independence, and to the degradation of his dignity, he solicited a title in the russian army ; and accepted a captain's commission in the preobaginsky guards ; of which the uniform was sent him, with the ribbon of St. Anne. Vassilievsky and Konstantinov, russian agents, decorated with the title of ministers plenipotentiary, were by turns the counsellors of this too confident

terly the khans were wholly elective. The electors were chiefly the myrzas and their beys ; but the public opinion was also taken into consideration, as the nomination of an unwarlike or unpopular khan generally brought on an opposition from the people. The porte afterwards established a right of confirming the election, which soon grew into a right of appointing the khan.

prince ;

prince; and those who contributed most to his ruin. The Tartars loudly condemned his manner of life, and his attachment to Russia; but, as he governed them with gentleness and equity, they ascribed his deviations rather to the christians than to himself.

In the mean time the Russians were in want of a pretext for marching their troops into the Crimea. They strove hard to foment some revolt, that the khan might implore their succour, and surrender himself intirely to them. Money, presents, sinister counsels secretly spread by their emissaries, presently raised him enemies even in his own family. Two of his brothers, one of whom, named Bay-Gueray, was governor of the Kuban, made an attempt to surprise him in the city of Keffa, where he resided, and forced him to fly for shelter to Taganrok. Immediately a russian army marched to his relief. Potemkin hastened thither himself; and his name alone was sufficient to awe Bay-Gueray, who sent to inform him that he voluntarily divested himself of the power which he had usurped.

The khan Sahim-Gueray now entered again the Crimea; and having called together the greater part of the tartar chiefs, he delivered up to them thirteen of the principal rebels, who were put to death on the spot. After which he said: —“ You see before you my two brothers and myself: which of us will you have to govern you?”

“ Name

"Name him freely. I will subscribe to your
"choice."—All the Tartars swore that they would
have none but Sahim-Gueray.

This arrangement was not perhaps very agreeable to the court of Petersburg; but, whatever course the Tartars should have taken, its resolution was already adopted; the Krimea was to be usurped.

The empress immediately sent off reinforcements to her armies in Poland and the Ukraine; and made every preparation that a speedy declaration of war could require. She then wrote to her minister at Constantinople to demand far more extensive advantages than those which had been stipulated by the treaties; and to oblige the divan to promise, that, whatever might hereafter be the fate of the Krimea, it would not interfere. She did more; she engaged the imprudent Sahim-Gueray to demand the cession of Otchakof.

The divan was incensed at all these pretensions: but, feeble and disunited, they feigned a desire to go to war; yet murmured, instead of flying to arms. They, however, sent a pasha to take possession of the isle of Taman. Sahim-Gueray, pushed on by the Russians, summoned the pasha to retire. Instead of obeying, the irritated pasha caused the envoy of the khan to be beheaded. The Russians, pretending a determination to avenge the affront put upon that prince, requested him to grant them a passage for their troops to go
and

and attack the Turks: but no sooner were they entered his dominions, than, instead of proceeding against Taman, they fell back, and spread themselves over all the peninsula, of which they easily became masters. General Balmaine * took by surprise the town of Keffa, where the khan was, and forced the imams, the myrzas, and the other principal Tartars, to take the oath of allegiance to the empress.

During these transactions general Suvarof had been employed in subduing the Tartars of the Kuban and the Budziaks. Prince Potemkin, who had advanced to the regions beyond the Kuban, was receiving the homage of sultan Baaty-Gueray and the hordes that roam about those extensive districts.

The Russians continued for some time to flatter the khan, and promised him a pension of eight hundred thousand rubles †. But both the prince and his country did not the less remain under the yoke.

Though this invasion, executed in violation of every law of nations, and under sanction of the sacred names of avenging justice and protecting friendship, had not roused even ottoman indolence to arms, Catharine nevertheless published

* This officer was a son of Ramsay, viscount Balmaine, one of those who were obliged to leave Scotland on account of their adherence to the unhappy family of Stuart.

† Previous to the conquest he had a revenue of three millions of rubles.

a manifesto to justify, in the eyes of Europe, the spoliation of the unfortunate Sahim-Gueray, and to accuse the Turks of having broken the treaty of Kainardgi *.

The pacific disposition of the porte, and the terms proposed in consequence of it, were of no avail in bringing about an accommodation with her two great and ambitious neighbours. Their demands appeared so exorbitant, that it became a question, even with the wise and moderate, whether it were not better at once to put every thing to the hazard, than to be trained on through degrading concessions to a state of imbecillity, which would not leave them the means or ability of even rendering their power glorious. The demands made by Russia were no less than the full possession of the Krimea, the isle of Taman, the Kuban and Budziak, with the fortrefs of Otchakof, and other cessions of less importance. On the part of the emperor, besides smaller matters, was required the full restitution of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, including that city itself, with a considerable part of the provinces of Valakhia, Servia, and Bosnia: these cessions to be followed by such a demarcation of limits as would afford a satisfactory frontier for their future security; the free navigation of the Danube, and of the turkish seas, being in all cases

* See this manifesto in the appendix to the present volume, N^o I.

to be considered as a preliminary, from which there was no receding.

All sides prepared for the most decisive hostility, and the preparations were immense on all. The year 1783 accordingly exhibited such an apparatus of war on the northern and eastern borders of Europe, as had never before been beheld, even in those martial regions. The Danube groaned, through the better part of his course, under the weight of the prodigious artillery, and the immense quantity of ammunition and provision, which the emperor forwarded from his hereditary states to the frontiers. The troops, which he had already in Hungary and the adjoining provinces, were estimated at more than one hundred and thirty thousand, and others were advancing from different quarters. The artillery that he now sent to the frontiers, which were at all times well provided with that article, was estimated at more than fifteen hundred pieces. Indefatigable in all his pursuits, he visited Hungary and the adjoining provinces early in the summer, and examined personally the state of the garrisons, magazines, lines, and armies.

The russian forces were at the same time advancing through different parts of Poland, and through all the countries from the Don to the Dniepr, towards the scene of action. Their preparations were, as usual, immense; that government

ment never hesitating at any expence, with respect to labour, men, or the means of supply in war.

On the other hand, the porte had drawn great bodies of their asiatic troops into Europe ; so that their armies on the frontiers, or the approach to them, already exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand men. Their janissaries and european troops were in good condition ; and their armies in general were better provided, and upon a much better footing, than they had been in the late war. They had procured a great number of european officers, particularly french, to come into their service : among these were several engineers, and they were indefatigable in the improvement of their artillery, and in endeavouring to introduce the european modes of discipline, clothing, and arms, in their armies. The janissaries and soldiers shewed, upon this occasion, a docility which had never been expected from them : indeed, the bigotry and prejudices even of the common people were visibly wearing away ; so powerful are the effects which misfortunes, joined with the example of their rulers, can produce in the manners and tempers of men.

The capudan pascha, who was the life of all their military improvements, as well by land as on his own element, had formed such a marine on the Euxine, as to be far superior to the russian naval force in that quarter. He had likewise a considerable fleet for the Archipelago and Medi-

terranean service : but that was the ottoman weak side ; and they seemed to dread Russia more there than on any other.

A treaty of some sort or other, either of commerce, alliance, or both, was about this time concluded between Spain and the porte. The object of this treaty on one side, was, an engagement entered into by the other, that no russian fleet, beyond a certain specified number, should in future be permitted to enter the Mediterranean on terms of hostility. The porte, however, surrounded almost as she was by her formidable enemies, had still one consolation in reserve. She knew, that, as France was now disengaged from the war with England, she would not be abandoned to absolute destruction by all the western powers. Nor was it to be supposed, that the king of Prussia, or even Sweden, could have been a silent or inactive spectator of so great an accession of power, as the spoils of the ottoman empire would afford, to their already too formidable neighbours. At all events, the porte prepared vigorously for war.

In regard to the transactions on the side of the Crimea and the different Tartaries, it appears that the Russians had, in some part of the preceding year, entirely defeated the new khan of the Crimea, and obliged him to abandon the peninsula ; that his party were either dispersed or subdued ; and that the conquerors had made themselves
masters

masters of all the considerable fortresses and ports of that country. That, besides subduing the Kuban, and other neighbouring Tartars, they had extended their power over no small part of the mountains of Caucasus, towards the borders of Georgia and Armenia, the petty states in those parts becoming their vassals, under the name of receiving their protection. That Solomon, the christian prince of Mingrelia, being restored to his principality, by their assistance, submitted to the same state of vassalage: which, in fact, was no more than changing his masters; his country having been, from time immemorial, under a similar subjection to the Turks. Prince Heraclius of Georgia, ever watchful of occasions of advantage, having, during the late war, seized the double opportunity of the troubles in Persia, and the weakness of the porte, to renounce his fealty to both powers, had of course entered into a strict alliance with Russia *.

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* It is to be observed, that the russian accounts have constantly misrepresented this business, they stating, that prince Heraclius, as well as Solomon, had, at his own desire, become a vassal to the empress. The fact is however otherwise. Heraclius was too strongly fortified in the fastness of his country, and at too far a distance to be compelled to such a measure; and he was too proud and too wise to become a slave without occasion. He had, through the course of no short life, bravely encountered, and fortunately surmounted, many and great dangers, to save or to free his country from the lowest

This war in the Krimea had not proceeded without great difficulties. The russian manifesto, which was published as a justification to the world of her conduct in taking possession of the Krimea, states the expences of the war at twelve millions of rubles (which does not fall far short of three millions sterling), and seems to consider that expence as a foundation for one of the empress's claims upon that country. The same piece, in stating the loss of lives upon the occasion, observing that their value is inestimable, refrains accordingly from giving an account of the number.

In the mean time, the russian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the supposed right to the dominion of his country to the empress. This was no less than an absolute sale of a people and their country, the khan receiving considerable estates in Russia for the purchase. It seems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchase are specified as affording any title or claim to Russia upon the country ; nor indeed are they

degradation of abject vassalage. He had happily succeeded in obtaining for it, and for himself (though by a precarious tenure) a freedom as perfect as unexpected. He could be little disposed to resign it now, who, through the weakness of his two superior lords, even while he acknowledged their dominion, had for many years been in the habit of letting his fealty and allegiance hang very loosely about him.

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at all taken notice of in the manifesto published by the empress on the occasion *.

In that piece, which is signed by her majesty, and dated at St. Petersburg on the 8th of April, 1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the summer,) the Krimea, the Kuban, and the island of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It states, that the great successes which enabled Russia to subdue the Krimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if she had so chosen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that and many other conquests were sacrificed to her desire of establishing the public tranquillity, and the friendship between the two empires, upon the most permanent foundations. That these motives had induced her to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every possible cause of future dissension.

The failure of this design, and all the subsequent troubles of the Krimea, are partly attributed to the secret insinuations and conduct of a certain unnamed, but well-understood, power, in fomenting the discontents, partly to the restless temper of the tartar nation, and partly to their being so long accustomed to servitude, that the greater

* Which the reader may see at large in the appendix at the end of the volume, N^o I.

part of the people were incapable of understanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Russia for the expence of money and blood she had already been at, to prevent similar consequences in future, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all causes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the present measure. At the conclusion of her majesty's manifesto the Tartars were assured that they should be placed upon an equality with the ancient subjects of Russia, and that they should enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, with the full exercise of their public worship and religious ceremonies; and they are exhorted to imitate the submission, the zeal, and fidelity of the people, who had long had the happiness of living under her government. But the generality of the Tartars, little affected by the promises and the exhortations of Catharine, resolved to deliver themselves from the yoke which her generals had just been imposing on them. Potemkin, being made acquainted with their design, gave orders to prince Prozorofsky to seize on the principal persons concerned, and to punish them with death on the spot. Prozorofsky had the noble firmness to answer, that he was not calculated for an assassin *. On this, Potemkin applied to general

* Prince Prozorofsky was afterwards governor of Mosco.

Paul Potemkin, his cousin, who caused thirty thousand Tartars, of either sex, and every age, to be slaughtered in cold blood.

This manifesto was answered by the porte in so masterly a manner, both with respect to style and matter, that it might be considered as a model for such documents. After pointing out, and severely animadverting upon the encroaching disposition and the over-ruling spirit of the court of Petersburg, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Krimea, it proceeds to expose, in a very striking point of view, that wantonness of power, and inordinancy of ambition, which could extend them to the Kuban, to the isle of Taman, and to the sovereignty of the Euxine. It puts the question, What pretension of right can Russia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the porte? Would not such claims, on any part of the russian empire, be instantly repulsed. And can it be presumed that the sublime porte, however desirous of peace, will acquiesce in wrong, which, however it may be disguised by ambition, under the colour of policy, reason and equity must deem absolute usurpation? What northern power has the porte offended? Whose territories have the ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the turkish standard displayed? Content with the boundaries of empire assigned by God and the prophet, the wishes of the porte

are for peace : but if the court of Russia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquisitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the justice of its proceedings, the sublime porte must prepare for war, relying on the decrees of heaven, and confident in the interposition of the prophet of prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

The porte, but little versed in the art of reasoning, and yet determined to reply to the empress's manifesto, had recourse to a christian pen*, which easily proved the injustice of Catharine's pretensions, and the perfidiousness of her conduct : but of what avail are such writings ? The causes of sovereigns are pleaded effectually no otherwise than by the sword ; and for a long time the Turks were afraid to employ it, or employed it but badly against the Russians. They did not even dare refuse to sign a new treaty of alliance and commerce presented to them from the empress by Bulgazof, her minister at Constantinople, a treaty that formally contradicted the answer they had given to her manifesto.

Notwithstanding this, remaining firmly decided to declare war against the Turks, and being apprehensive that Gustavus III. might take advan-

* The answer of the porte was attributed to sir Robert Ainslie, the english minister at Constantinople.

tage of the russian armies for attacking her in that quarter, Catharine formed the design of concluding a new treaty of alliance with that prince. She had already proposed it to him several times, both by the minister whom he had at Petersburg, and by that whom she kept at Stockholm; but her attempts were without effect. She resolved on having a second interview with the swedish monarch.

The place of appointment was fixed for Frederiksham, a small town strongly fortified on the gulph of Finland, and the last possessed by the Russians on the side of Sweden *. The empress repaired thither † in a yacht. She was attended by count Ivan Chernichef, the minister Bezborodko, the grand écuyer Narishkin, the favourite Lanskoï, and several ladies of the court; among whom was princess Dashkof, who for some time past had to all appearance regained the friendship of Catharine.

Gustavus ‡ had in his suite count Kreutz §, his first minister, general Armfeldt, Munck, and several other officers.

* Since the peace of Varela, concluded in 1790, the last fortrefs belonging to the Russians on the side of Sweden is Kymenè-Gorod, built on the bank of the little Kymenè.

† The 29th of June.

‡ Only a few days before, being at a review, he had his arm broke by a fall from his horse.

§ The same who had been ambassador in Spain and in France.

The empress had previously caused two contiguous houses to be hired, which were furnished with great elegance, and between which a gallery of communication had been constructed. One of these was occupied by herself, the other served as quarters to the king of Sweden; in such manner, that during the four days that these two sovereigns remained at Frederiksham, they might freely discourse together as often as occasion required *.

The peace had been signed some months before †. There was no longer any reason for keeping the neutrality of the north in arms; yet the empress being desirous of it, Gustavus consented. She afterwards proposed to that prince to remain neuter during the war with the Turks; and assured him, that after the termination of that war she would assist him in gaining possession of Norway. Flattered with this hope, Gustavus promised to comply with all that Catharine required; and they parted highly satisfied one with the other, and their minds filled with their different schemes of conquest.

* The empress, who was lavish of her fine speeches to the Swedish monarch, engaged Høyer, a Danish painter, to execute a picture, where that princess and Gustavus III. are represented sitting and conversing amicably together. M. Castrer tell us he saw the original of this picture in the cabinet of the king of Sweden at Droningsholm; he likewise saw a copy of it at the painter Høyer's house at Copenhagen.

† In the month of January.

Before

Before she quitted Frederiksham, the empress gave her portrait to count Kreutz, and testified her magnificence towards the swedish officers. Gustavus also made divers presents to the russian ministers and courtiers. He decorated the favourite Lanskoï with the order of the polar star; and, on his return to Sweden, he sent to princess Dashkof a diploma of member of the academy of Stockholm.

The porte was the less eager to make war, as the preparations of the Russians seemed infallibly to assure them of victory. Seventy thousand men, under the orders of prince Potemkin, were assembled on the frontiers of the Krimea. Prince Répnin was at the head of forty thousand, in readiness to back the former. Marshal Romantsof, with a third army, had his general quarters at Kief. The squadrons of the Euxine were armed; and ten sail of the line, with several frigates, were only waiting the signal for proceeding from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

1784. The court of London, vexed that Russia had appeared at the head of the armed neutrality, strained every nerve to induce the divan to have recourse to arms: but in vain. France and Austria prevented it. Instead of fighting, they took the better mode of negotiation. By a new treaty, signed at Constantinople, between the russian plenipotentiary Bulgakof and the ministers of the grand signior, the empress retained the sovereignty of the Krimea, of the isle of Taman,
and

and a great part of the Kuban; and the Turks acknowledged the right which she pretended indisputably to have to the dominion of the Euxine, and to the passage of the Dardanelles. Thus Catharine acquired, without the necessity of going to war, a vast territory, with a million and a half of new subjects.

The empress restored their antient names to the Crimea and to the Kuban. The former of these countries was called Taurida, and the other Caucasus*.

The example of Sahim-Gueray might have taught the other princes to dread the cruel protection of Russia: but the presents of prince Potemkin dazzled the eyes of some of them. Heraclius, sovereign of Kartalinia and Kakhetti, who had formerly borne arms under the famous Thamas Kouli-khan, and fought in the last war of the Rus-

* Which never fail to remind us of the old stories of the grecian history: Iphigenia in Tauris; the race-ground of Achilles; the cities Pantikapæum, Bosphorus, Tanais; and of the chained Prometheus, the tribes of Caucasus and Circassia, still famous for the beauty of its ladies. The territory of the Crimea is larger than the kingdom of Prussia was at that time (that is, East and West Prussia and the Netz district); has a rich soil, but is poor in people. Catharine herself brought away in 1779 the numerous Greeks that inhabited the southern part of the peninsula into her own country; though they have not been very prosperous in their new districts; at that time, therefore, she seems to have had no thought of taking possession of it.

fians against the Turks, performed homage to Catharine for his dominions.

Solomon, sultan of Immeritia and Georgia, was also, as we have seen, pursued by the courteous intrigues and the treacherous benefits of the empress and the favourite. Brave and haughty, he at first resolutely persisted in depending entirely on his scymetar; but a mound of gold, a crown, and ostentatious promises, reduced him to slavery. Shortly after this he died; and sultan David his son was incapable of imitating him, except in his weaknesses.

Potemkin did not invade the country of the Zaporogians; but, ever combining artifice with force, he carried off sixty thousand of these kozaks, and sent them into the country of the Nogais and to the shores of the sea of Azof and the Euxine, where he founded those colonies which at present furnish sailors to the squadrons of the Euxine, and especially to the galley-fleet of Nicolaef.

While employed in extending the empire of his sovereign, prince Potemkin was not unmindful of his personal interests. Though proprietor of immense estates in different provinces of Russia, he still acquired a part of the rich domains which the princes Lubomirsky and Sapieha had possessed in Podolia and Lithuania. His enemies thought that he was providing for a retreat into Poland: but, whatever were his intentions, never did his
favour

favour appear so firmly established, never had he been attached to Russia by so many titles and employments. The empress honoured him with the surname of Tavritschesky *, gave him the government of Tavrida, with the rank of grand admiral of the Euxine, and built for him the magnificent palace in Petersburg which bears the name of Tavritschesky.

This superb edifice, the Taurian Palace, consists properly of only a ground floor; but the body of the building, the wings whereof extend to a prodigious length, has over the portal two stories, supported by columns, which are covered at top by a grand cupola. The entrance of the main building leads into an open space, in which, on both sides, lodging rooms project. Through this is the grand entrance into a quadrangular vestibule, surrounded by columns of extraordinary magnitude, and lighted from above by the windows of the second story. A gallery at a considerable height runs round it, for the orchestra, which is also provided with an organ. From this vestibule the spectator proceeds into the grand hall, through a double row of columns. If it be possible by verbal description to excite the impression which the sight of this temple of gigantic architecture produces, it can only be done by the most artless and simple representation. Let

* The Taurian.

the reader then figure to himself a hall upwards of a hundred paces in length, proportionably broad, having the roof supported by a double colonnade of colossal pillars. At about half the height between these pillars are boxes, ornamented with silk curtains and festoons. In the passage formed by the double rows of pillars, hang at stated distances large crystal lustres from London, the lights of which are reflected by a mirror of uncommon size at each end of the room. The room itself has neither ornaments nor furniture, it being only designed for grand entertainments: but, in each of the two semicircles that terminate the colonnades, stands a vase of carrara marble, both of which, by their extraordinary magnitude and the excellence of their workmanship, correspond with the grandeur and magnificence of the whole. Now let the reader, with his intellectual compasses, strike out a semicircle from one end of this great colonnade to the other, on the side facing the vestibule by which he entered, and this will inclose the winter-garden, of itself an enormous building; the roof of which being too large to support itself without columns, these are made to resemble palm trees. The warmth is kept up by numerous flues in the walls and columns, and by leaden pipes with hot water running in various ramifications under ground beneath the parterres and grass plots. The walks of this garden lead between flowery shrubs and fruit-bearing

bearing hedges, in serpentine directions over little hills, and to a variety of bowers, occasioning at every step some new surprise. The eye, when weary of the luxurious mixture of gaudy colours in the vegetable world, recreates itself in contemplating the choicest productions of art. Here a grecian head invites our admiration; there the attention is fixed by a motley collection of rare fishes in crystal vases. We turn from these objects to enter a grotto of mirror-glass, which reflects the trees, and plants, and statues, and flowers in multiplied diversity, or to gaze at the singular mixture of colours in the faces of a mirror-obelisk. The genial warmth, the odour of the nobler plants, the voluptuous silence that reign in this enchanting garden, lull the fancy into sweet romantic dreams: we think ourselves in the groves of Italy, while torpid nature, through the windows of this pavilion, announces the severity of a northern winter.—In the centre of this bold creation stands on an elevated pedestal the statue of Catharine II. of carrara marble, with the attributes of legislatrix.—On the death of prince Potemkin the empress adopted this as her autumnal palace; for which purpose the left wing was lengthened by taking in the whole side of a street. In making the necessary alterations fifteen hundred men were employed, who continued their work in the night by the light of torches, that it might be ready for the coming autumn. Compare the foregoing

foregoing description of the winter-garden with that of the climate of Russia *.

In proportion as the number of those who had long been in her service diminished, Catharine doubtless was the better able to judge of their value. She lost now the two principal chiefs of the conspiracy that had placed her on the throne. Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin and prince Gregory Orlof died almost at the same time, one at Petersburg, the other at Mosco.

Panin died of grief and chagrin, a fatal malady to which discarded ministers are very liable †. From the moment when Potemkin resisted him in the council and deprived him of the management of affairs, he began visibly to decline, and was a stranger to all repose of mind but what he looked for in death.

Prince Orlof closed his term of life in a still more tremendous manner. Though he remained in possession of the benefits which the empress had heaped upon him, and was the husband of a

* In our preliminaries, vol. i. p. 7, 8, and seq.—See Storch's "Gemälde von St. Petersburg."

† Count Panin died the 31st of March 1783, and left behind him the character of an honest well-meaning man. At his death his estates were sold for 173000 rubles, which was not sufficient to pay his debts. Many instances of his generosity are well known: of 9000 boors once presented him by the empress, he gave 4000 among three of his secretaries in the department of foreign affairs.

young and handsome wife, the presence of the new favourites was insupportable to him. He passed almost all the latter years of his life in travelling. In 1782 he stopped at Lausanne, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife, which threw him into a deep melancholy. He immediately returned to court, but it was only to present to his former friends the sad spectacle of his insanity. At one moment he delivered himself up to an extravagant gaiety*, which made the courtiers laugh: then, bursting out into reproaches against the empress, he struck terror and amazement into all that heard him, and plunged the monarch herself in the bitterness of grief. At length he was forced to retire to Mosco. There his remorse revived with tenfold fury. The bleeding shade of Peter III. pursued him into every retreat; haunted his affrighted mind by day, and scared him in the visions of the night; he beheld it in-

* When Gregory Orlof was all-powerful at court, he frequently called Catharine by the diminutive of her name, *Kattinka* or *Katouschka*. After his return from his first travels, he retained this habit. He had brought with him from Holland a sort of doctor, or rather a buffoon, named Janijoffy, who took the same liberty. The empress was at times subject to fits of low spirits, of which this physician pretended to cure her; and when he found her in a dull humour, he would say, "Kattinka, we must be cheerful in order to be well, and we must walk in order to be cheerful."--Then, giving her his arm he walked with her about the gardens of the palace.

cessantly

cessantly aiming at him an avenging dart, and he expired in the agonies of despair *.

In the former period of his favour, Gregory Orlof had received of the empress a medallion surrounded with brilliants, on which was the portrait of that princess, and he wore it at his button-hole. After the death of the prince, count Vladimir Orlof came to Petersburg to present this miniature to the sovereign, who returning it to him, bade him give it to his brother Alexèy, whom she permitted to wear it. Surely an awful present !

* In the month of April 1783.

C H A P. XIV.

Relations of Russia with Persia, with China, and with Japan. — The empress resolves to defend the rights of Joseph II. over the Scheldt. — Adventure of the grand duke at Gatschina. — Death of Lansköi. — Marriage of prince Potemkin. — Yermolof becomes favourite. — League of the electors. — Treaty of commerce with France. — Dinner of Toleration. — Mononof succeeds Yermolof. — The empress purchases the libraries of Voltaire and of d'Alembert. — 1784, 1785, 1786.

THE vicinity of the Caspian invites the Russians to trade with Persia; and by Persia they can easily prosecute a commerce with India. Accordingly they have long profited by this advantage. Tzar Alexèy Mikhailovitch, who in a manner prepared the reign of his son Peter I. as Philip had prepared that of Alexander, caused some small vessels to be built by his dutch carpenters *, with which he protected the commerce carried on by his subjects with the inhabitants of the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan.

* About the year 1660.

Peter I. whose genius favoured every thing that was grand or useful, extended these relations still farther, and established a counting-house at Schamachy, a rich and commercial town, which is said to have been the antient abode of Cyrus *. Persia was at that time a prey to a number of petty rebellious tyrants, who, taking advantage of the quarrels between the usurper Mahmoud † and the feeble Schah-Husseïn ‡, pillaged and ravaged those delighted countries. The Lesghis, a race of Tartars who are the antient Albanians, rushed down from Mount Caucasus, made themselves masters of Schamachy, and massacred the russian merchants with the other inhabitants.

Justly incensed at this outrage, Peter demanded justice of its authors : but either from inability or insolence, satisfaction was denied him. From that moment he resolved to seek his own revenge, and by taking advantage of the troubles in Persia, to gain possession of the whole western coast of the Caspian. He embarked § on that sea, sailed as far as the town of Andréof, landed and pro-

* He is called Kur-khan by the Tartars and Persians, who relate many particulars concerning that prince, unknown to the histories in use among us. Some pretend that he had his name from the river Kur.

† Son of the barbarian Mirveïtz.

‡ Schah, or Schach, signifies *sovereign*. Sophi is not a title; it is the name of a family, which traces back its origin to Tamerlane.

§ In 1722. — See the history of Peter the great.

ceeded to lay siege to Derbent, capital of the Daghestan. Derbent *, a fortified town of considerable strength, and taking its name from having formerly an iron gate, made no greater resistance then than it since did in our times, when attacked by Valerian Zubof †. The troops of Peter I. were victorious not only at Derbent, but before the opulent town of Bachtu; and three provinces remained submissive to the Russians, till they were afterwards re-conquered by Thamas Koulikhan ‡.

The interruption of the commerce of the Russians with Persia lasted for some time. It was not till 1744 that it was revived by the English, who obtained of the empress Elizabeth permission to navigate the Caspian. By this navigation they procured great quantities of fine silks, cotton, and the other valuable commodities the growth and manufacture of Persia. They established a factory at Mesheck; they traded with the caravans as far as the Greater Tartary, to Samarkand, and to Bolkara.

The appearance of the english flag upon the Caspian gave umbrage to the famous Thamas

* Derbent, or Iron-gate, is called by the Turks Demir-Cadi.

† In the year 1796.

‡ The Russians pretend that it was by the treachery of Biren, and of prince Gallitzen, who was at that time ambassador in Persia.

Kouli-khan : but, unable to contend with it, that artful tyrant came to the resolution of depriving the Russians of its assistance. In order to effect this, he gained over the captains Elton and Woodrofe*, who had under their command the english vessels, and they entered into his service.

Elton, on being made admiral by Thamas Kouli-khan, caused ships of war to be constructed, with which he forced the russian vessels to salute the persian flag, and to acknowledge its superiority. The empress Elizabeth, having information of this proceeding, immediately revoked the permission which she had granted to the english company, and sought means of avenging herself on Thamas Kouli-khan, by raising him up enemies among his own soldiers. Shortly afterwards, this conqueror, while preparing to make a descent on Russia, was assassinated, during his sleep, in the plains of Mogan†.

* It is to these two navigators that we are indebted for the first good map that was ever made of the Caspian, which chart the Russians correct every year, on account of the sandbanks in that sea which are perpetually changing their situations.

† In 1747 Saleh-bey, colonel of the guard Aghuane, attended by four soldiers rushed into his tent by night and murdered him. Thamas Kouli-khan was then in bed with the daughter of the grand mogul, whom he had married after having seized upon the dominions of her father. — It has been affirmed that Saleh-bey had been bought over by the Russians.

From that time the Persians, being involved in fresh troubles, thought no more about the affairs of the Caspian; and all their ships were destroyed by the Russians.

By the treaty of commerce renewed with the court of London in 1766, Catharine restored to the English the privileges of which they had been deprived by Elizabeth. But, whether from want of confidence, or whether on account of the confusions that were secretly raised among them, they were never able to make that trade so profitable as their first company had done.

The Russians then are almost the only people who derive any great advantage from the commerce of the Caspian. With about 100 vessels of between forty and eighty tons burden, they go and fetch silk and cotton from Ghilan, carpets and fine stuffs from the other provinces, carrying in exchange to the Persians, iron, steel, and furs.

Independently of this traffic, the Russians carry on a considerable fishery on the Caspian. In that sea they take the shamai, a fish resembling the herring, and the kossa, greatly superior in flavour to the roach of the ocean*. They also take great numbers of sea-dogs, the skins of which they sell to the English and the Dutch, making use of the fat in the preparation of soap.

* The fish of the Caspian is of a taste far more delicate than that of other seas. This superiority is attributed to the quality of the waters, which is rather bitter than salt.

The rivers of Persia also supply the Russians with great quantities of those fish whence the caviar * is made ; a grand article of commerce, and

* Caviar, by the Russians called *ikra*, an article of so much consequence to the industry and to the palates of the Russians, is prepared in the parts about the Volga, the Ural, and the Caspian, of the roes of sturgeons, sterlets, sevrugas, and fitrinas. The lump of roe is the first thing taken out after cutting up the fish. A large beluga will yield above five pood of roe ; but which, on account of the quantity of viscous matter mixed with it, is not much esteemed. From a sturgeon never more than thirty pound has been taken, and from the sevruga only ten or twelve. As of the beluga-roe five eggs weigh a grain, so a large beluga has six or seven millions of eggs. The different treatment of the roe determines the different quality of the caviar. The first species is the pressed caviar. To this purpose the roes are only cleansed from the coarsest strings and fibres, salted with two pound of salt to the pood, and spread out to dry in the air. This preparation in fair weather requires about six hours, and in cloudy weather at most a day. It is now immediately put into tubs. To make this sort for sale, it is common to take the spoiled roes of dead fish thrown upon the shore, or such as are too greasy for other sorts, and even the fragments and offals that would not pass through the sieve for the finer kind, salt it in boxes, and then tread it down in tight tubs. Such caviar costs in Astrakhan half a ruble the pood. — The seasoned or grainy sort is better than this. When the roe is cleansed from the coarser particles, it is shaken into long troughs, salted with eight or ten pounds to the pood, and well mixed with it. It is now brought to the sieve or stretched net-work, through which it is squeezed, in order that the remaining fibrous parts may be completely separated : then, like the former, it is pressed in tubs. The pood costs between one and two rubles ; and

and without which scarcely any eatables are served in the north.

The

and this sort is the usual food of the common people during the lents or fasts enjoined by the religion of the country: but it is too salt for the taste of every one. The best sort is the sack-caviar, for the cleanliness of its preparation and its exquisite relish. After being cleansed it is steeped in brine, till the grains are quite soft. It is then hung up in long pointed bags, like jelly-bags, about half a pood in each, and brine again poured in upon it. When this is all drained off, the bag is wrung between the hands till all the moisture is out. It is then set to dry twelve hours in the bag; after which it is trod down in tubs by a labourer in leathern stockings. This sort requires the roe to be quite fresh, and is the dearest, costing two rubles the pood, and upwards. In winter the roe is eaten entirely fresh; and a great dainty it is. In general, the standard for good caviar is, the less salt the better; but likewise the less time will it keep. The best caviar, as well as the best isinglass, comes from the river Ural, where the kozaks have the best method of preparing them. Formerly the trade in caviar was a monopoly of the crown; and in Peter the first's time the contract brought him eighty thousand rubles, in the middle of the present century one hundred thousand. At present it is free. In the year 1764 the quantity exported amounted to forty-eight thousand rubles, in 1768 only to forty-one thousand. In later years the quantity exported has been more various than that of isinglass. In the year 1788 it amounted to two thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight pood, in 1783 to ten thousand seven hundred and six pood, in 1786 to two thousand four hundred and seventy-six pood, in 1788 to fifteen thousand four hundred and forty-one pood. Caviar goes mostly to Italy, (pressed, of course, because of the voyage,) where it is eaten by the rich in fast-time.

The fleet maintained in the Caspian by Catharine was constructed of oaks from Kazan*, and consisted of three frigates, five corvettes, and a bomb-boat. These vessels were continually cruising along the coasts of Persia, and burnt all the ships, and even all the floats of timber which they happened to meet. Their commanders had besides positive orders to sow discord between the several khans, and always to support the weaker against the more strong; a method which the empress had found too successful both in Poland and in the Crimea, to admit of her neglecting it in behalf of the Persians.

In 1782 that princess adopted the resolution of executing the project formed by Peter I. against Persia, by extending her dominion on the western shores of the Caspian. The dissensions which continued to lay waste those fertile regions seemed to favour her ambitious views. But she met with some obstacles which she had not expected.

The most powerful of the tyrants of Persia was at that time the khan Aga-Mahmed. Sprung from one of the first families of the Korassan, Aga-Mahmed was still in his cradle when his father

time. In Germany also, with the increase of luxury, it is now much more in request than it was thirty years ago, when a physician in a publication called it a delicacy almost unknown.

* The environs of Astrakhan furnish none at all.

and

and his brothers were strangled by order of Thamas Kouli-khan*. The conqueror contented himself with taking precautions to prevent this infant from ever perpetuating his race: but Aga-Mahmed nevertheless, like the eunuch Narfes, became a warrior and a statesman.

After the death of Thamas Kouli-khan, the mother of Aga-Mahmed married again, and had several other children who became the determined enemies of their brother. One of them, Murtuza Kouli-khan, thinking to procure powerful succours from Russia, appeared to be, with the utmost fervility, devoted to that cabinet. But, in spite of Murtuza, in spite of Abulfat, son of Kerim-khan the last ruler; in short, in spite of all his rivals, Aga-Mahmed had the skill to render himself master of the Ghilan, the Mazanderan, the Schirvan, and several other provinces.

The empress gave orders to count Voïnovitch†, commander of her squadron on the Caspian, to employ all possible means for forming some establishments on the persian coasts.

In July 1781, Voïnovitch sailed with four frigates and two armed sloops from Astrakhan,

* It was about the year 1738.

† Count Mark Voïnovitch was a Slavonian by birth. Eight years after his expedition into Persia, he served in the Euxine in quality of commodore: but, happening to displease prince Potemkin, he made him lay aside the russian uniform, and dismissed him with disgrace.

having

having on board the necessary troops and ammunition, and, after stopping to examine the islands of Shiloy and Ogutzin, which he found to be barren sands and rocks, repaired to Afterabat, the best port of the Mazanderan, which is the ancient country of the Mardi. Aga-Mahmed then resided at Ferabat; where Voïnovitch presented him his request for permission to establish a counting-house on the coast. The khan, considering perhaps that he was not able to drive away the Russians by force of arms, or rather choosing to employ artifice against them, pretended to accede to the desires of Voïnovitch.

The Russians immediately set about constructing a fortress to defend the harbour, at the distance of about fifty miles from the city of Afterabat, which they furnished with eighteen guns; whereof Aga-Mahmed being informed, continued his dissimulation, but was resolved to give them a check. He came to look at the fortress, admired the building, praised the activity of the Russians, and invited himself to dine, with his attendants, on board the frigate of Voïnovitch.

After having merrily spent the day, and testified great friendship for the Russians, the khan engaged them in return to come and take a dinner at one of his country-seats among the mountains. Thither they repaired the succeeding day. But they had no sooner entered his house, than Aga-Mahmed caused them to be put in irons; at the
same

same time threatening Voïnovitch to have his head cut off, and to serve all his officers in the same manner, unless the fortress was immediately razed to the ground.

Voïnovitch, who plainly saw that all resistance would be fruitless, signed an order, which was carried to the commandant of the fort. The cannons were re-shipped, and the wall broke down. This done, Aga-Mahmed ordered the russian officers into his presence; and, not satisfied with loading them with scornful and injurious language, he delivered several of them over to his slaves; who, after inflicting on them every sort of indignity, were commanded to drive them and their companions with scourges to their ships.

The court of Petersburg revenged itself no otherwise for these affronts than by continuing to foment the desertions that were raging in Persia. Its agents there raised up against Aga-Mahmed a rival, who speedily became the most formidable of his enemies, and took from him the province of Ghilan. This conqueror, who was called Ghedahed-khan, profiting by the arms and ammunition secretly conveyed to him by the Russians, seemed ready to despoil Aga-Mahmed of all his power. But the latter, finding means to corrupt the russian agent Tomanofsky, and the consul Skilitch, both residing at Sinfil, they betrayed Ghedahed-khan, and delivered him to Aga-Mahmed, who caused him to be beheaded,
and

and became once more the quiet possessor of Ghilan.

In the mean time the Russians affected publicly to take no part in these quarrels. Some time after the death of Ghedahed-khan *, prince Potemkin commissioned one of his officers to go and compliment Aga-Mahmed, who was then at Riatsch, the capital of the Ghilan; recommending him, at the same time, to study the character of the khan, and to sound his intentions in regard to Russia. The officer repaired to Riatsch, and easily obtained an audience of Aga-Mahmed. But, on conversing with him, he perceived him to look gloomy and thoughtful; which caused him to suspect some sinister design. Upon this, he artfully observed, that although he was in the service of Russia, he was born an Englishman, and that his nation was strongly attached to the Persians, with whom it carried on an extensive commerce in the gulph of Bassora. Suddenly the khan assumed a smiling air, spoke to the envoy in a gentle tone, and dismissed him with presents †.

These reciprocal testimonies of false good-will were followed by a prompt aggression. Murtuza-

* Some facts of inferior importance are anticipated here to prevent perplexity in the narrative. Ghedahed-khan perished towards the end of 1786.

† These particulars are related from the mouth of the officer himself.

Kouli-khan, supported by the Russians, attempted in 1778 to make a new incursion into the Ghilan; but he was repulsed by khan Solyman, who commanded there in the absence of Aga-Mahmed; and this latter lost no time in bending every effort to the entire subjugation of Persia and Georgia *. Nor was he content with this: inheriting the projects of the formidable Shah-Nadir, he wanted to make himself master of the province of Astrakhan, and shut up the Caspian from the Russians. But how could he effect this, unless the Turks would act in concert with him? And have ever the Turks been able thoroughly to concur with an ally in hostilities against their enemies?

The springing up of a new prophet in the upper Asia (an instance of ambition under a different character) might, at certain periods, have been considered as the indication of some extraordinary revolution in the eastern world. But the general disposition of things in the present day is far from being favourable to the growth, in any degree, of such impostures; and even in those regions, which seemed at all times to have been peculiarly adapted by nature or circumstance to the production of fanatical enthusiasm, checks and difficulties now occur, which prevent the former dangerous and wonderful effects from taking place.

* The Russians have since made themselves masters of Georgia and Circassia.

The sheik Mansour pretended that he was pre-doomed by the eternal and immutable decrees of heaven, to fill up the measure of divine revelation to mankind ; that as he was the last prophet that ever was to appear, so he was to close up and to affix the seal to the ordinances of providence ; that he was not sent to subvert the institutes and doctrine of Mohammed, whose mission was equally divine with his own, but to restore them to their original purity, with such additions and alterations as the present state of things rendered necessary ; that the fore-known corruptions of mankind, and of the text and doctrines of Mohammed, had occasioned his being predestined from the beginning to this great and important office. As the reform of mankind was to be now general and complete, and that the obstinacy of many infidels was too incorrigible to be wrought upon by persuasion, or even by miracle, so, in imitation of his great prototype, he adopted the use of the sword, as well as of the spirit, for the accomplishment of that great work. He assumed greater powers, as the last prophet, than had been communicated to the former, or to any other ; for it is to be remembered, that the scriptures, especially the old, form much of the groundwork for all mohammedan reformers and prophets.

The wide and desolate regions bordering on the Caspian were, from various causes, particularly their remoteness, the weakness and diversity of

their governments, with the ignorance and superstition of the people, the best chosen scene for the new prophet's exhibition that perhaps the world in the present times could have afforded. He had accordingly made considerable progress in his undertaking before he was heard of at Constantinople, and then he was represented as being already at the head of a multitude of armed enthusiasts, and that he intended nothing less than the subversion of the established religion. In the present convulsed and disordered state of the empire, this intelligence could not but cause much alarm to the porte: they were not ignorant of the effect which a pretended revelation from heaven might produce in countries so prone to religious delusion; and they knew that the restless temper of these barbarous nations rendered them at all times ready to follow any leader, without even the pretence of religion, who held out to them prospects of war and spoil. The innumerable sects into which the mohammedan religion is split, and the extraordinary opinions held by many of them, seemed likewise to open the way for any bold innovator, who pretended to new lights and an extraordinary sanctity, to accomplish a dangerous revolution.

Orders were accordingly dispatched to the turkish commanders in Armenia and the adjoining countries, to be studiously upon their guard against the designs of the impostor; and at the same

same time that they narrowly watched his motions and conduct, and endeavoured to penetrate into his real character and designs, to abstain from any wanton outrage against him or his followers. Turkish divines and theologians were likewise commissioned to confer with him, to inquire into his religious opinions, and particularly into the objects of his pretended mission. The remoteness of the scene, with the difficulties of communication and of obtaining intelligence in these waste and wide countries, whose limits are scarcely known by their immediate rulers, occasioned long and anxious expectation at Constantinople, for the result of these inquiries. It however at length appeared, that the prophet had given full satisfaction to the deputed divines on the subject of religion, and the orthodoxy of his principles: but what was of infinitely more importance than his religious tenets, it was at the same time discovered, that all the military fury of his zeal was directed against the christians, they being the infidels, whose conversion being hopeless, rendered their extermination necessary.

This intelligence was soon farther confirmed, by the new saint's commencing, at the head of his followers, a fierce war against the Georgians; and they being allied with the Russians, and his enmity being directed equally against all christians, this original object of alarm soon became an useful instrument of the turkish government. For he

founded the alarm among the Lefghis, and all the other nations of caucasean Tartars, (who have in all ages been among the fiercest, bravest, and most independent of mankind,) of the danger to which their religion and liberties were exposed, through the power and near approach of the Russians; and thus contributed to the forming of a general combination against them, at a time when the porte, from the critical situation of her affairs, however dangerous and fatal she knew their progress in that quarter would be to her interests and safety, could not venture to make any direct opposition to their designs.

With a view to learn the dispositions of the court of Russia, Aga-Mahmed, towards the end of 1788, sent an ambassador to Petersburg, whom, in contempt of the law of nations and to the disgrace of the russian cabinet, Potemkin sent off to the town of Kremenshuk, on the Dniepr, and he was still living there in 1790 in the extremity of distress, but haughtily threatening Russia with the vengeance of his master.

The commerce carried on by the Russians with China was not less beneficial than that of the Caspian. It is now about one hundred and thirty years * since the Siberians and the Bukharians first set up the caravans, which, crossing chinese

* Towards the year 1653. — The caravans employed three years in going to Pekin, stopping there and returning to Tobolik.

Tartary, carried their commodities as far as Pekin. These consisted in furs, for which they received in exchange gold, silver, precious stones*, stuffs, tea, and all those objects invented by the Chinese, and to which their industry, often fantastical, has given so great a degree of perfection.

The arrogance and ill conduct of the Russians soon caused them to be denied access to China†. They were no longer allowed to traffic beyond the frontiers of that empire; their commerce was at several periods interrupted and resumed: at length, some time before the death of the empress Elizabeth, fresh quarrels brought on a new suspension.

Catharine saw the necessity of reviving this commerce, and accordingly made proposals to

* The largest ruby that is known to be in the world was brought from China to prince Gargarin, governor of Siberia. It came afterwards into the hands of prince Mentchikof, and is at present one of the ornaments of the imperial crown. See the history of Peter the great.

† The Russians have often sent embassies to Pekin with scarcely any other object than to trade. Peter I. charged Yibrandt Ides with one of these embassies.— In 1727 the court of Russia commissioned count Sava with another, who being a native of Ragusa, had added to his name that of Raguzinsky. Count Sava tarried six months and a half at Pekin, and succeeded in pacifying the Chinese, who had been highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Russians.

the emperor of China; which were agreed to by that prince, who in 1780 appointed the little town of Kiachta to be the common rendezvous of the russian and chinese merchants. The empress, at the same time, sent an archimandrite from Mosco, with several young Russians to go to Pekin to study the chinese language. She ordered at the same time towns and villages to be built at stated distances as far as the frontiers of China, to which places she sent colonies, who almost all fell victims to the rapacity of the russian governours.

In the mean time the azylum granted by the Chinese to the Torgots who had deserted their seats on the shores of the Volga, and the falshood with which the Russians pretended to chastise their people for crimes committed on the chinese territory, again disturbed the harmony that subsisted between the two courts, and became for some time the subject of a correspondence that tended only to their mutual exacerbatation *. At length an agent was dispatched in 1788 from Catharine to Pekin; and the colao Sun-ra-shing and a russian minister having repaired to Kiachta in 1789, they came to a fresh agreement which

* The emperor Tchien-Long was angry that Catharine seemed to reproach him with being too fond of punishing; and Catharine could not forgive Tchien-Long for concluding one of his letters by wishing that heaven would grant her more wisdom.

re-established a good understanding and commerce between the two nations *.

She also set on foot several maritime expeditions to Kamtschatka. After the example of the English, who make voyages for the sake of purchasing furs on the north-western coast of America, several russian vessels proceeded to China; where they traded with success.

There was yet another country with which Catharine was desirous of having commercial connections. The northern coasts of Russia, and especially her establishments in many of the isles of the northern Archipelago, approximated her with the natives of Japan †. As we have often had occasion in other instances to remark, so now again a favourable incident occurred to promote the design of the empress.

Some Japanese were shipwrecked in these unfrequented seas ‡, and saved themselves on the coast of Russia. They were in all sixteen sailors and the master of the vessel. Professor Laxmann, being some years afterwards at Irkutsk, in August 1792, brought the latter with him to Petersburg.

* Particulars concerning this commerce may be seen in Tooke's view of the Russian empire during the reign of Catharine II. &c. vol. iii. p. 589.

† The islands on which the Russians have possessions, extend to within three hundred miles of Japan.

‡ The Japanese bark was stranded on Mednoi-ostrof, or the Copper island.

Catharine received him with kindness, and gave him masters, who, while they were teaching him the russian and tartarian languages, learnt enough of the japanese to enable them to form some commercial connections. This enterprize has not yet been attended with any great degree of success: but there is no reason to doubt that Russia, sooner or later, will share in the great profits made by the Dutch at Japan *.

Though Catharine was adding to her vast dominions in every quarter; though she appropriated to herself, in peace or war, all the territory on which she could seize with impunity, she was not the less jealous of every accession of power to her rivals. She had long been particularly uneasy at the increasing fame of Frederic II. and the preponderance he had acquired in Europe. From the first partition in Poland, Frederic had daily been making encroachments on the privileges of the city of Dantzick, and pressed it to such a

* The japanese captain was a very intelligent man, and had brought with him a chart of the coast of Japan, which was seen to differ widely from those constructed in Europe. The empress appointed the son of professor Laxmann to conduct the Japanese, in a russian ship, back to their own country, taking considerable presents with him, and being accompanied by several engineers. After a short stay young Laxmann returned from Japan, having obtained permission for the Russians to send a vessel every year, for the purpose of trading with the natives under the same restrictions as the Dutch. Only five of the sailors lived to go back.

degree,

degree, that it was almost obliged to surrender itself to him, or relinquish its commerce. Catharine was the more exasperated at seeing Dantzick fall under the power of the Prussians, as the court of Russia had long since itself formed the project of taking possession of that town, and had only been induced to lay it aside by the private remonstrances that were made by the government of France to the chancellor Vorontzof*.

The magistrates of Dantzick were artfully invited by the minister Stackelberg, to implore the protection of Catharine. She immediately wrote to the king of Prussia with an offer of her mediation; which procedure retarded, for some time, the invasion of Dantzick.

Another corner of Europe was in the mean time disturbed by differences of an opposite nature. Joseph II. had formed the design of opening the Scheldt. To this an opposition was made by the Dutch, who used every effort to engage Frederic to support by force of arms their covetous pretensions. Catharine on this occasion, declared that she was resolved to support the rights of the emperor of Germany†. Upon this, the

* The chancellor Vorontzof was long engaged in an epistolary correspondence with Tercier,* entrusted, in conjunction with the count de Broglio, with the secret correspondence of Louis XV.

† In the preceeding year Catharine II. had renewed the treaty of alliance with the emperor.

Dutch,

Dutch, whose cannon had already insulted the austrian flag, dreading an exclusion from the ports of the Baltic, adopted the wisest method, of negotiating instead of fighting.

The public, in almost every part of Europe, were much interested in this subject; and the sentiments and opinions of mankind have seldom been so much divided upon a question of so simple and confined a nature as the navigation of a river.

The grounds of argument in support of the emperor's claim, were very open and specious. Indeed, the bare relation of the act, that an antient and respectable people, who had been long and early renowned in commerce, had been brought to ruin and beggary, by depriving them of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which ran through their territories, seemed at once sufficient to decide the question in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of so flagrant an injustice. Upon the same principle, the deliverance of a people from so cruel a mark of bondage, and the restoration to their natural rights and former happiness, seemed an atchievement so glorious, as to be worthy and characteristic of a hero. The former greatness, splendor, and opulence of Antwerp, were dwelt upon with great effect; its decline was attributed entirely to this odious measure, to which the Dutch were said to be prompted by
their

their jealousy and avarice, in order to monopolize all commerce, and that Amsterdam in particular might rise to greatness upon her ruins. With an equal view to the passions, and with still less truth or justice, the Scheldt was magnificently represented as the finest river in Europe, as if its beauty could have any thing to do with the questions of right, or of political necessity. It may be easily judged, that the general and established character of avarice attributed to the Dutch, with the harsh, arbitrary, and monopolizing spirit, which they had ever displayed in commercial matters, could not but operate greatly to their disadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The states, however, had many strong grounds of argument and fact to oppose to plausible and artful representations, or to prejudiced and hastily conceived opinion. It was said to be absurd, in the present state of things and of the world, to recur to what was called natural rights, in order to overthrow those social compacts between men, and political conventions between states, which are the foundation and the security of all public and private property. What a picture would Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquish all those possessions, which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolutions of a long series of ages, had enabled them

them to acquire ! It would be to untie all the bands that unite mankind ; throwing them back again into a state of savage nature ; and rendering the world a chaos of endless confusion and disorder.

It was however denied, that a river's passing in its inland course through some part of a prince's territories, constituted any such natural right, when its opening to the sea was in the possession of another sovereign. But, at once to do away all the pathetic declamation thrown out upon this subject, it was strenuously insisted, that the whole course of the two branches of the Scheldt, which passed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial ; that it owed its formation and its existence to the hands of Dutchmen ; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour ; and that they were still maintained by great and continual labour and expence : that if it had not been for those standing monuments of Dutch enterprize, those admirable dykes which excite the astonishment of mankind, the waters of the Scheldt, stagnating in shallow lakes and immense marshes, had never reached the sea in any distinct or sufficient portion for the purposes of navigation : that the lower Scheldt being thus originally made and still preserved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and still preserved the two provinces of Holland and Friezland, so it was equally their own property : that as it could
not

not even be imagined that those immense labours were intended for the use of others, so their benefits, as well as the stupendous works themselves, must be considered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of justice, as their own exclusive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In answer to the tragical representations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its antient splendor and greatness were charged entirely to dutch avarice and despotism, particularly in the measure of shutting up the Scheldt, it was observed, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated from various well-known causes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from, that only one which was at present assigned. Antwerp had been fast declining for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars of the Netherlands. Commerce had branched out into other channels; and Amsterdam, though long before considerable, had, within that period, from its superior advantages, and other concurring causes, risen to be the first commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent; and, notwithstanding the losses which it sustained by its memorable siege, would have been still considerable, if its ruin had not been completed by the same causes and means which desolated Bruges, and other great cities of the
Nether-

Netherlands. The despotism, cruelty, and religious persecution of the Spaniards, obliged the merchants and manufacturers to abandon them all, and to convey their commerce and their arts, along with themselves, to other countries. It was observed, as a curious circumstance with respect to this subject, that Spain, the sovereign of Antwerp, had been no less interested than Holland, in the measure of shutting up the Scheldt; for that, as the celebrated statesman John de Wit says, in his memoirs, the greatness and opulence of that city were not compatible with the views of Spanish despotism.

The real cause, however, of the states being struck with such apprehension at the demand of opening the Scheldt, was not on their side explicitly stated: as that, besides being an acknowledgment of their fears, would also have precisely pointed out the objects of their terror, and shewn in what manner their ruin could, with the greatest ease, be accomplished.

The different branches of the Scheldt intersected their dominions in such a manner, and had such an open communication with their various other waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arsenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great measure, the whole interior of their country, would lie open and exposed to the possessor of the former; so that their very existence ever after must lie at the mercy of such an inmate; and they

they must sooner or later expect, and ever live under the constant dreadful apprehension of becoming sacrifices to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

As a certain degree of marine force would, however, be necessary for the accomplishment of this dangerous purpose, and that the emperor possessed none at present, report and apprehension served to supply that immediate defect. It was given out, and by many credited, that as that sovereign and Russia had lately been in the habit of playing into each other's hands, with respect to Turkey, the Crimea, the Euxine, and the Danube, so they were likewise now in concert in the establishment of the project concerning the Scheldt; and that the latter of these potent allies having failed in all her views of obtaining a port, at any price, in the Mediterranean or ocean, the former would accommodate her with the use of the Scheldt, as a place of arms, and station for her navy. Such a report and opinion, however founded, could not but greatly heighten the distress and apprehension of Holland.

The test of war or peace announced by the emperor, without waiting the result of the negotiations at Brussels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to issue. Two imperial vessels had been preparing for some time to make the destined experiment upon the conduct of the Dutch with respect to the Scheldt; it was

to

to determine whether they would persevere, at all events, in the assertion of their supposed right, or whether they would sink under the well-grounded apprehension of their great opponent's power. Every measure was used, both at Brussels and Paris, to induce the emperor to waive this measure of decision, and to wait the result of the negotiations; but he was determined in his object, and confirmed the threat of count Belgiojoso, by declaring, that he would consider the first insult offered to his flag upon this occasion as an act of formal hostility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic.

The equipment and preparation of these vessels was evidently carried on in a manner that was intended to draw the eyes of all Europe to the transaction, and to prepare them for the consequences. One of these was to proceed down the Scheldt, from Antwerp to the sea; and the other, up the river from the sea, on its course from Ostend to that city.

The former was checked in her progress by the salute of a broadside from a dutch cutter, and the vessel from Ostend was likewise stopped in her attempt to pass up from the sea; the circumstances being in general similar, but that no shots were fired.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture, so far as the emperor's absence at the time from

from Vienna, and the great distance of his armies, did not serve to retard that event.

As soon as the instructions from court could be received, the imperial ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and the negotiations at Brussels broken up. An army of sixty thousand men was under orders, and in preparation for marching from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; the troops already there amounting to about sixteen thousand. Great trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war, were in motion; and none that know the emperor's character will suspect but that he was already forward in preparation for an event which he could not but foresee was probable, and the issue of which he had so much at heart. The great distance of his forces from the scene of action was, however, an insurmountable check to his activity. The different states of the empire, whose territories the army was to cross in its long march, were applied to for a consent, which could not be well refused, but which was in general unwillingly granted. The countries belonging to the king of Prussia were of necessity held sacred upon this occasion. Nor was the emperor satisfied with the bare passage of his troops through their dominions; he called likewise upon the states of the empire to furnish their respective quotas of troops towards the support of a war, which, from the late

affair on the Scheldt, he wished to be considered as entirely defensive on his side.

Nor was the republic by any means insensible to her danger, nor negligent in providing all possible means for the most obstinate defence. In spite of her unhappy internal divisions, her ancient courage and resolution seemed to revive. Though she evidently dreaded the arduous and unequal contest, and was willing to make many sacrifices to avoid it, yet she seemed determined rather to hazard all things, and even to perish in the encounter, than to submit willingly to a condition with which her ruin was inseparably involved. Agents were employed all over Germany, that nurse of war and inexhaustible breeder of armies, who were indefatigable in their exertions for hiring troops from those princes who make it a custom to barter mankind for money. The exertions were no less considerable at home, in recruiting the troops, strengthening the frontiers, and putting the posts and garrisons in the best posture of defence. As the appearances of things became more alarming, and the danger seemed fast approaching, they prepared for the worst that might happen; being determined to have recourse to the last desperate refuges of defence which the nature of their country peculiarly afforded. In this determination, they were in readiness for laying the flat and exposed countries under water; and as the last resort, took measures
for

for suddenly arming the peasants, whose fierce nature and characteristic obstinacy, when operated upon in the defence of their native dykes, would undoubtedly have afforded spectacles of unusual animosity and horror.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the states, or by the court of Versailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching storm.

During these transactions, affairs seemed approaching fast to the last extremity on the borders of Holland and the Netherlands.

The expostulations and remonstrances of France were not capable of subduing the inflexibility of the emperor on the subject of the Scheldt. He was willing to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference, and accordingly to consent to the renewal of the negotiations, limited to those objects; but the free navigation of that river he considered as so incontrovertible a right, that it was not to be subjected to any discussion whatever.

While all Europe contemplated this new and unexpected contest, and several of its powers seemed little disposed to approve of its cause or principle, Russia, who had so lately seduced Holland to enter into the views of her naval ambition, by leading the states into the scheme of the armed neutrality (to which all their subsequent misfortunes and present dangers might, with no small

justice, be attributed), now took a decided part against the republic, in a business with which she seemed to have very little concern. At the same time that she affected or assumed the office of being a mediator, she held out to the world her fixed determination in support of the emperor's claims, and an utter condemnation of the conduct of Holland in refusing to comply with them. It was likewise known or believed, whether publicly declared or not, that she was engaged to support him with all her forces, in case the interference of any other power in favour of the republic should render her intervention necessary.

The rest of Europe was not, however, at this time disposed to suffer the republic to become a sacrifice to the views and ambition of these two great powers. The part which the prussian monarch must necessarily have taken in such an attempt was sufficiently obvious: and that which would be pursued by France became now not less apparent. The two crowns were evidently united in opinion upon this subject; and the long visit which the celebrated prince Henry of Prussia paid at the court of Versailles was attributed entirely to it: many supposing that plans were then formed for their future conduct and mutual operation, should affairs be carried to the last extremities. The northern crowns, or at least one of them, seemed to catch the alarm; and such naval and military movements and arrangements took

took place in Sweden, as occasioned the demand of an explanation from the court of Petersburg. Even the porte, upon this occasion, seemed to shake off its native indolence, and to pay an unusual attention to the state of european politics, so that it was generally understood from their aspect and movements, that the Ottomans were resolved not to miss so favourable an opportunity as might now possibly be offered for returning the recent obligations which they owed to the emperor.

In fact, the private treaty concluded between that prince and Russia in 1782, the objects of which were kept a secret from their nearest friends and allies, although particularly and immediately alarming to the porte, did not fail to give much umbrage to others of their neighbours. The continual schemes for the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, which had been pursued or in some degree adopted by the emperor, and which seemed to keep his mind in constant action; the concurrence which, upon every occasion, they received from his great ally; with the vast ambition and dangerous designs attributed to both, served, altogether, to increase this jealousy to a very high degree, and to extend it to no small number of the european princes and states. It was supposed that the ruin of Holland would be only the prelude to other pretensions, which might be extended on every side, while the success in

each would serve as an encouragement to farther attempts at forming new arrangements of power, and new partitions of dominion. The fate of Poland could not be forgotten in such a course of consideration; and the reflection might now come home to those who, thinking themselves out of danger, had paid no regard at the time to the fire which was consuming their neighbour's house.

It seemed therefore necessary that some measure of union should be adopted by the central and western powers of Europe in order to counterbalance this great northern confederacy, and to obviate its suspected designs, and apprehended effects. And if such a measure were to take place, France seemed calculated, from her situation, power, interest in the question, and other circumstances, to be the proper, if not natural, head or centre of such an union.

The negotiations for an accommodation between the emperor and Holland were, in the course of the summer of the following year, resumed at Paris, under the auspices of the french prime minister: and, towards the latter end of June, the barons de Waffenaar and Leyden set out from the Hague, as deputies from the republic to the court of Vienna. The object of this deputation seems to have been that merely of making such concessions on the part of the republic as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, particularly with respect to the insult offered to his flag;

flag; a point in which he seemed to think his honour so much concerned, that nothing less than satisfaction on that head could open the way to an accommodation.

While Catharine was securing peace without the empire, and giving it to other powers, cabals and intrigues were reviving in her court. No methods were left unemployed by the disaffected for inciting the grand duke against his mother, and for irritating that princess against him. His imperial highness generally spent the autumn at Gatchina, a country seat distant about eighteen versts from Tzarisko-selo. All at once a report was spread that he designed to build a town there, and to give liberty to all who should come and live in it. The prince was not a little surprised to see the peasants running in crowds from various parts of the empire to partake of these benefits. But, with great prudence, he kindly dismissed them, and thus dissipated an incipient revolt, from which undoubtedly great advantages were expected by the parties concerned.

The perspicacity and the zeal of Bezborodko rendered him necessary to the empress; and, having succeeded to Panin, he seemed to have inherited his sentiments. Connected with the family of Vorontzof*, he was the secret opponent of Potemkin,

* The two Vorontzofs are brothers of princeps Dashkof, and of the favourite lady of Peter III. One of them, Alex-

Potemkin, who disdained all his enemies, openly braved them, and sometimes made them objects of his sport with peculiar address.

Lanskoï, beloved by Potemkin, to whom he was also greatly attached, became daily more dear to the empress. The education of this favourite had been much neglected; Catharine took the care of his improvement on herself. She adorned his mind with every useful knowledge; and he was very soon as distinguishable for his acquirements, and the superior elegance of his manners, as he was already by the graces of his person. Her love for this amiable youth was ardent and sincere: she admired in him her own creation. But this satisfaction was not of long continuance. Lanskoï was attacked with a violent fever, and perished in the flower of his age, in the arms of her majesty, who lavished upon him, to the very last moment, all the tenderness the most passionate affection could inspire.

When he was no more, she gave herself up to deep and poignant sorrow. The imperial apartments, from the abodes of joy, resembled now the lonely desert. Catharine refused all sustenance for several days, and remained three months with-

ander Vorontzof, was placed at the head of the college of commerce; the other, Sergius Vorontzof, is the present minister in England.

out

out going out of her palace of Tzarisko-felo *. She afterwards raised a superb mausoleum † to Lanskoï, in the gardens of that imperial seat, just visible through the trees from the windows of her private apartment; and, more than two years afterwards, accidentally walking near this monument, the people of the court who were with her, observed her to shed abundance of tears ‡.

Prince

* On the first shock occasioned by the death of Lanskoï, the empress ordered herself to be put to bed, indifferent to life or death, being almost entirely absorbed in grief. The grand duke and grand duchess, on hearing of this, drove immediately to Tzarisko-felo: but when they were arrived at the door of the bed-chamber, and their presence was announced to the empress, she called to them, in an altered tone of voice, not to come in: and they were obliged to return without seeing her.

† This beautiful little piece of architecture was constructed by Mr. Charles Cameron, an english artist.

‡ The fortune of Lanskoï was estimated at seven millions of rubles. He bequeathed it to the empress, which she returned to the sisters of that favourite, reserving only to herself the right of purchasing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed estate valued at four hundred thousand rubles, of which she had made him a present.—One fine collection of coins, however, was irreparably lost some time before. In 1780 the late Dr. John Glen King made a visit to Petersburg, and brought with him a collection of british and saxon coins that had been begun by Charles I. and being sold after the death of that unfortunate prince, it passed into different hands, receiving additions by its several possessors; at length being bought by a clergyman who had a taste that way, he increased it by purchases, to the detriment of his
slender

Prince Potemkin took upon him to dispel the grief of Catharine. He was almost the only person who could presume to penetrate the solitude in which she passed her hours. His influence with her increased from day to day; and whether from gratitude or from real attachment, she resolved, it is said, to bind him to her by indissoluble ties, and secretly gave him her hand *.

slender income. On his decease it was almost the only property that fell to his widow. Not able to find a purchaser for it in England, the doctor humanely took charge of the collection, in hopes of disposing of it in Russia for the benefit of the relief of his friend. He was advised to offer it to the new favourite; and Lankoi, on hearing the account of it, accepted the offer, paid the money, and ordered it to his new house. There it was negligently placed; and some few days afterwards, the coins were seen in the hands of the children of the vassals that had the unfinished buildings in their care, who were rolling them to and fro; in short, some pieces fell through the floors, others perhaps found their way to the brandy-shop, Lankoi never thought of his purchase more, and it was entirely lost without any inquiry being made about it.

* Undoubtedly nothing is more difficult than to prove the authenticity of such a marriage. But it is affirmed by a person highly worthy of credit that the nieces of prince Potemkin were in possession of the certificates of that event, and that one of them told him so. After all, both the empress and prince Potemkin being dead, this secret is of no more importance than that of the marriage of Louis XIV. with madame de Maintenon.

The bonds of wedlock were unable to fix either the taste of Potemkin or the fancy of Catharine. He soon set himself free from the obligations this tie imposes, and delegated them to a younger and more ardent favourite.

All who had ambition at court were desirous of seeing the place, now vacant by the death of Lanikoi, filled up by some personage who would allow them to share in the favours dependent on it. Princess Dashkof was industrious in her endeavours to obtain it for her son; and success for a moment seemed to wait on her intrigues.

The young prince Dashkof was tall, well made, and of a figure adapted to make some impression on the heart of the empress *. Prince Potemkin who was aware of the measures employed to bring this matter about, carefully avoided any apparent opposition, knowing that contradiction only serves as a stimulant. Feigning on the contrary a wish to favour the young Dashkof, he took greater notice of his family, with whom he had hitherto been on very indifferent terms. No one was better skilled in the art of observing and imitating whatever was ridi-

* Prince Dashkof is now, or was lately with his regiment at Mohilef. Among a number of other accomplishments which he possesses, he speaks the english language remarkably well, having had his education at Edinburgh, under the celebrated professors Robertson, Millar, Steward, &c. The prince is a fellow of the royal society of London.

culous in the persons whom he frequented; and he neglected not to make Catharine remark those of princess Dashkof and her son. The empress laughed heartily at his mimicry; and the next day Potemkin sent to her, one after another, two subaltern officers of the guards, Yermolof and Momonof, with some trifling commission, in order to give her an opportunity to see them. Catharine decided in favour of the former.

A ball was given at court. Young Dashkof was there, and displayed an extraordinary magnificence. The courtiers imagined his triumph was at hand, and already paid him those marks of deference which are the appendages of favouritism. Potemkin redoubled his attention to princess Dashkof. With this she was so delighted, that on the following day she wrote him a note, requesting him to admit her nephew the young count Butterlin into the number of his aides-de-camp. Potemkin mischievously answered her, that all the places of aides-de-camp to him were full, and that the last had just been given to lieutenant Yermolof.

The name as well as the person that bore it were alike unknown to the princess Dashkof. That very day she became acquainted with them both, on perceiving Yermolof at the Hermitage, standing behind the chair of the empress.

1785. It was in the height of the contest about the Scheldt, when the public attention was fully engrossed,

engrossed, and the emperor's mind supposed to be entirely occupied by that momentous subject, that the world was astonished by the opening of a new source of jealousy and discord in Germany. What rendered this new business entirely unaccountable was, that it not only seemed in its nature, principle, and design, to run directly counter to all the measures which that prince had hitherto pursued, and was still, with no less apparent eagerness and determination pursuing, with respect to Holland and the Scheldt, but at once shut out all the avowed and imputed views, from which the contest was supposed to originate.

This new subject of alarm and contention was no less than the proposed or supposed exchange of an antient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the austrian Netherlands; those very Netherlands upon whose account the emperor seemed at the time on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, whose consequences (as had been well observed, and strongly urged by the court of Versailles) could not be calculated.

The prussian monarch now became, upon that great and very critical occasion, the distinguished and successful guardian and protector of the rights of the german princes, and the liberties of the germanic body in general. The war which he then undertook, though not illuminated by those dazzling actions which captivate the imagination, yet considered in its motives, with the disinterestedness
which

which marked his whole conduct, through the progress and conclusion of the contest, has possibly served to crown him with more unfading laurels, than the most splendid acts and the most glorious victories of his youth. The peace concluded at Teschen on the 13th of May 1779, so effectually annulled the claims and pretensions of the house of Austria upon the dominions of Bavaria, that it might be supposed to have cut off the possibility of any future discussion or contest upon that subject.

But though the necessity of apparently relinquishing the design was then predominant, yet the object presented so irresistible a temptation, that the desire of its acquisition could not be foregone. And as the same great obstacles still remained to the obtaining of it by force, other means were to be tried, and measures of another nature pursued.

Ambition and vanity seldom grow old, and the lure of a crown was supposed to have been successfully held out to the elector palatine, in order to induce him to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all those appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teschen, for the austrian Netherlands, which were to be constituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Austrasia. Nothing could certainly have been more advantageous to the house of Austria, or more consonant to its views
of

of supreme greatness, than this exchange. For, exclusive of the precarious tenure by which the Low Countries were held, and which was now perhaps more sensibly felt than at any former time, the accession of so large and considerable a country as Bavaria rendered still more important by its peculiar situation, besides rounding and completing the austrian dominions, would have consolidated such a great and compacted body of power, as nothing afterwards in the empire, considering the division and general weakness of its states, could be supposed able in any degree to counterpoise.

On the other hand it would seem, that nothing less than the passion of filling a throne, for however short a time, and the empty gratification of leaving a name enrolled in the mouldering catalogues of forgotten kings, could have induced the elector, at his time of life, and without children, to enter into a measure so disagreeable to his subjects, so dangerous to his co-estates of the empire, and so unjust to his apparent heirs and presumptive successors, as the dominion which he was to obtain bore no adequate proportion in the great objects of extent, number of inhabitants, importance, or security, to the country which he was to give in exchange.

No season, however, could well be chosen that was less favourable to the carrying of such a measure into execution than the present. The attention of Europe was already much roused by the

the northern alliance, and by a succession of measures or projects which were supposed to have arisen from it; so that the more distant as well as the nearer powers began now to entertain no small jealousy of the conduct and views of these two great empires, whose union appeared to be so strictly cemented, that they were scarcely to be considered in any other point of view than that of acting under the same common influence of design, and under the impulse of the same common interest in every thing. In such a disposition and state of circumstances, it was scarcely reasonable to expect that an innovation in the constitution of the germanic body, as well as in the general system of european policy, could by any means pass unquestioned; or indeed that the attempt would not be attended with much difficulty and danger.

The negotiation upon this intended barter was conducted with such extreme closeness and secrecy, that no suspicion of the design was entertained, even by those who were the most immediately interested in the measure, and would be the most deeply affected by it, until the treaty was supposed to be already far advanced, if not absolutely concluded. This business was likewise attended with the peculiar circumstance of its existence having been in the first instance absolutely denied, and never after fully acknowledged, by the contracting parties themselves.

A letter

A letter from the empress of Russia to the duke of Deux-ponts, tending to induce him to an acquiescence in the proposed scheme of exchange or barter, if not a confirmation of it, was the first intelligence which that prince, the presumptive heir and successor to the elector palatine in all his estates, dominions, and titles, received, that any such design was in agitation. This letter was probably received about the close of the year 1784, as the king of Prussia was informed of the whole affair by the duke, who claimed his interference and protection, as guarantee of the treaty of Teschen, early in the following month of January.

In whatever terms the duke's answer was conveyed, it was so ill taken by the court of Petersburg, that the refusal was probably very peremptory. The king of Prussia immediately remonstrated strongly with that court upon the subject, as having been a mediator of the peace at Teschen, and being a guarantee to the treaty. The empress, in her answer, declared, that she had conceived this project to be the only sure means of preventing a war: that upon this ground she very seriously wished for its being carried into immediate execution: that these sentiments had indeed dictated the letter written by her to the duke of Deux-ponts, inviting him, in the most friendly manner, to come into the scheme; but finding herself ill requited for her good offices, so

far as could be judged from the answer which she received from the duke, which is of a tenor that she neither can nor shall give any reply to, she had dropped all farther concern in the business; and the empress declares to the king, that she has no intentions to enforce the execution of this project, excepting that the parties more immediately concerned should fully agree to it.

But, previous to this developement of the business by the empress of Russia, both the courts of Munich and Vienna had thought it necessary publicly to contradict the reports which were spread upon the subject, and to assert that they were unfounded; and though the expressions were loose and general, they were evidently intended to convey an idea that no such design had existed. The states of Bavaria were so exceedingly alarmed at the report, that the elector thought it necessary to give them some satisfaction on the subject. He assured them, in a written document, dated on the 13th of February 1785, that the reports spread of a pretended treaty between him and the imperial court, relative to an exchange of country, were without foundation; that the convention between him and that court, which had been lately ratified, related only to the adjustment of limits; and that he had already ordered an extract of that treaty, so far as it concerned the provincial states, to be communicated to them.

Though

Though this answer seemed to afford some temporary satisfaction, yet it was soon considered as not being sufficiently explicit; a general apprehension and alarm was spread among the people; and the order of burghers joined the nobles in the most pressing solicitations to the elector for a farther and clearer explanation. The discontents excited upon this occasion served to renew, with additional force, those old animosities which, through a long course of mutual injuries and cruel wars, had for ages subsisted between the inhabitants of Bavaria and the palatinate. This ill temper became so prevalent, that all the powers of discipline and despotism were scarcely sufficient to prevent the bavarian and electoral troops from proceeding to the most dangerous extremities. It was even said to have pervaded the elector's palace and court; and it was reported, that the very grooms could not be prevented from coming to blows in his stables.

Frederic II. who regarded the alliance between Austria and Russia as highly dangerous to Prussia, and even to all Germany, invited the electors and the other princes of the empire to unite for the defence of the germanic constitution *. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was one of the first who entered into the confederacy : a

* The treaty was signed at Berlin the 23d of July 1785.

step which caused great displeasure both to the empress and to Potemkin.

The court of London, desirous of renewing its treaty of commerce with Russia, sent, in quality of minister plenipotentiary, to St. Petersburg, Alleyne Fitzherbert, esq. *, who, to the untowardness of circumstances, added the mistake of attaching himself to the party of the Vorontzofs and of Bezborodko. The commerce which binds Russia to England is equally beneficial to both powers; and Catharine certainly had no desire to relinquish it: but she was not displeased at being able to give a proof of her resentment against the court of London, by delaying the renewal of the treaty †.

Perhaps it may be necessary here to state briefly in what the commerce carried on by the English with the Russians consists. This commerce began in the port of Archangel, which the English discovered about the middle of the sixteenth century, while in search of a north-east passage to the Indies. From Archangel they went up the Dvina, proceeded over land to Mosco, and there formed connections, which they afterwards greatly extended, when Peter I. had completed the conquest of Livonia, and opened to them the ports of St. Petersburg, of Reval, of Riga, and of Narva.

* Now lord St. Helens.

† That treaty had yet two years to run.

Since

Since that æra the commerce with Russia is become one of the most lucrative in which Great Britain is engaged, and the most useful to her marine.

The English carry to Russia * the products of their country, of their manufactures, and of their colonies in the two Indies, as well as the wines

* About the year 1553, in the reign of Edward VI. on the proposal of the famous navigator Sebastian Cabot, a vessel was fitted out in England for the purpose of discovering a north-east passage to China and India, the command of which was given to sir Hugh Willoughby, and after him to Richard Chancellor. This latter was wrecked in the bay of St. Nicholas in the White-sea, where at that time was only a monastery. From this accident began the trade between the English and the Russians. Tzar Ivan Vassilievitch soon after this caused the harbour of the Archangel Michael to be made, granted several privileges to that nation, and at length arose from this connection the considerable mercantile city of Archangel. The commerce here soon increased, and in 1655 the commodities exported from it to England already amounted to 660,000 rubles: from 1697 to 1701 upon a yearly average 112,251l. sterling, while the imports from England amounted only to 58,884l. sterling. The revenue of the crown in Archangel amounted annually to about 100,000 rubles, a sum which, according to the then value of money, was very considerable. The principal articles of export at that time were, potashes, caviar, tallow, wax, hides, hemp, feathers, tar, linen-yarn, beef, rhubarb, silk, (probable chinese or persian,) cork, bacon, cordage, leather, hogs-bristles, &c. all therefore raw materials. Under Peter I. a great alteration in this commerce ensued: for, when he had built St. Petersburg, he drew thither the trade from Archangel, which former city thereby became the chief commercial town of the russian empire.

and the brandies of France and Spain, which they fetch from the ports of those countries, and by which they not only make a considerable profit, but gain likewise the freight of their ships.

The Russians, in exchange, give them corn, furs, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, tallow, deals, and masts, without which Europe could never fit out those fleets which cover the seas, and often tinge them with blood. The English have moreover established at Mosco, at Tula, at Kazan, at Astrakhan, and in some other towns in Russia, mercantile houses which trade to the ports of the Caspian, and send their commodities into Tartary. In these places they have manufactories, in which the wages of the workmen are far lower than in England, and where their factors make sails, cables, anchors, and hammered or cast iron as well as copper.

Though entirely passive for Russia, this commerce procures her annually a balance of a million of rubles in time of peace, and a million and half in time of war. But how great the advantage to England! What immense resources it affords for the support of her navy, and for the perpetual augmentation of her connections in every part of the globe!

The french ambassador * at Constantinople had instigated, almost contrary to his own inclination,

* M. Saint-Priest.

the court of Petersburg to act in concert with that of Versailles. This minister had lately been recalled. Vergennes, who was sensible of the necessity of forming some connections with Catharine, procured the appointment of comte de Ségur to the embassy of Petersburg *. This young negotiator was peculiarly suited to so important a mission. To great mental endowments, he added an extensive erudition, combined politeness with dignity, and the art of persuasion with frankness of character. He could not fail of being agreeable to Catharine, and of gaining the regard of Potemkin, who, with his haughty roughness, always knew how to appreciate real merit.

Never any french minister, since La Chetardie †, had been able to succeed at Petersburg. By his servile compliances, Breteuil had favoured the schemes of Catharine, who presently learnt to despise him: the solemn gravity of Beauffet was tiresome to that princess: the insignificant mediocrity of the marquis de Juigné disgusted her; and the comte de Vérac could never obtain from her the smallest degree of confidence, because he stammered in speaking to her at his first pre-

* He arrived there in the month of February 1784.

† La Chetardie had assisted the empress Elizabeth in mounting the throne, which however did not prevent him from running the risk of being assassinated, by villains whom the chancellor Bestuchef had hired to way-lay him on the road, and who fired at his carriage.

sensation. The comte de Ségur repaired the mischiefs occasioned by his aukward predeceffors.

The empress was desirous of visiting the famous canal of Vishney-Volotshok, which unites the Volga with the Ilmen lake, that again with the Ladoga, and consequently the Caspian with the Baltic. Prince Potemkin, Yermolof, count Bezborodko, several others of the court, the english minister, and the ambassadors of France and of the empire, accompanied her on this journey.

One day the ambassador of France going to talk as usual with Potemkin, found him more angry than ordinary with the court of London. Dexterously taking advantage of this opportunity, Ségur represented to Potemkin the benefit that would result to Russia from having a commerce direct with France, instead of leaving to the English all the profits * which they draw from both the one and the other of those powers. Prince Potemkin engaged him to commit his observations to paper, and promised to speak of them to none but her majesty. The ambassador

* Such nations as have no treaty of commerce with Russia are obliged to pay the duties in dollars. They must therefore buy the ruble at 135 to 145 kopeeks the ruble, which is really worth no more than 125 paper money. The nations then that have a treaty gain twelve per cent. on the duties, which, independently of other advantages, is a considerable benefit. The ambassador obtained besides of the court of Russia a diminution on the import duties on french wines.

immediately

immediately returned to his barge ; and finding nobody there excepting count Cobentzel * and Mr. Fitzherbert, who were amusing themselves at back-gammon, he borrowed the ink-stand of the latter. It was therefore with the pen of the english minister that he drew up the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Russia. This paper being immediately conveyed to Potemkin, was communicated to the empress, and obtained her consent : this done, it was faithfully

* The count de Cobentzel is a man remarkable for his talents and his urbane manners. Born in the Low-countries, where his father was long minister plenipotentiary from the emperor to the governor-general, the archduke Charles of Lorraine ; he has all the elegant accomplishments of that court, so distinguished by its brilliancy and its politeness. He speaks french like a Frenchman, and perhaps better than he does german. At an early age he was sent ambassador to the court of Russia, where he gave particular satisfaction to Catharine II. He is an amiable courtier and a skilful negotiator ; the most laborious application seeming to him nothing more than amusement. His opponents and enviers say, it would be well if his plans were deeper laid and less hastily conducted. However, there is an ease and dignity in the count's manner of doing business ; and it is no slight encomium on him that he was deemed worthy of negotiating at Campo Formio with Bonaparte, and that he did not disappoint the expectations of his government. He is rich and is fond of pomp. At Petersburg he was remarkable not only for his diplomatic talents and the extent of his political knowledge, but for the magnificence of his style of living. The serious nature of his employments has scarcely at all impaired his natural vivacity, and he takes great delight in cheerful company.

returned

returned to the ambassador, being desired to present it, according to custom, to the vice-chancellor Ostermann.

On the receipt of this paper, Ostermann, not knowing that it had already the approbation of the empress and Potemkin, and being entirely devoted to the English, told the ambassador that he could not presume to flatter him with the hopes of success. The ambassador kept silence. The plan, being laid before the council, was immediately approved of by all; and it was in this manner that the treaty of commerce between France and Russia was brought about.

Previous to the signing of this treaty, Ostermann and Bezborodko observed that it was expected that France should declare her adhesion to the armed neutrality. A notification of it was given to the ambassador, who consented, provided that the court of Petersburg would promise to conclude no treaty with any other power unless upon the same conditions. This clause inserted in opposition to the interests of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty solicited by Mr. Fitzherbert.

Ségur, at his departure from France, had mentioned the hope he entertained of concluding a treaty of commerce with Russia. He was hastily answered that there was no possibility of such an event. On his writing to his court that this treaty was on foot, the count de Vergennes dispatched a courier

to inform him that it was no more than an empty lure thrown out to him by the court of Russia, and that he would surely bring the dignity of the king into question if he acted upon it. The treaty was already concluded when the courier arrived at St. Petersburg.

Towards the close of the same year, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the emperor, which afforded great advantages to his subjects, who, besides their being in general placed upon a footing with the most favoured nations, were granted several peculiar privileges. Among these was the clause which granted them an exemption from all duties in the port of Riga, and which placed them in all respects upon the footing of native inhabitants in that city. In general, however, the advantages were reciprocal ; such as in lowering the duties upon hungarian wines on one side, and those upon leather, hides, and other commodities, which might in a good measure be considered as staple, upon the other. Upon the whole, the treaty seemed evidently calculated to establish the easiest possible intercourse, with the most intimate and lasting connections, between the subjects of both empires ; so that, though the terms of the treaty limited its duration to twelve years, it appeared that the mutual friendship which it was to produce among the people was intended to be hereditary. Upon this principle, several cities and trading towns in both empires were placed
upon

upon the footing of open markets, where the foreign inhabitant, or even temporary resident, on either side, was to enjoy a sort of denizenship, and to possess the same security and advantages in trade with the native. The contracting parties likewise particularly bound themselves to a strict adherence to the terms and principles of that regulation or compact of which the empress had been institutress in the late war, and which has been so well known under the denomination of the armed neutrality; and which, though now of some standing, she still seemed to regard with all the predilection which novelty gives to a favourite scheme.

The treaty of commerce with France was likewise at this time concluded. Similar negotiations were at the same time in train with several other nations. Yet, with this prevalent disposition to the forming of new connections in trade, the old treaty of commerce with England (which had so long been considered as the most favoured nation, and entitled to peculiar privileges in Russia) was now suffered to expire, nor had it yet been renewed. The English had many grounds, without reckoning political causes or motives, whereon to support their claims to peculiar favour and privileges in Russia. Among others, it is not to be forgotten, that the English were not only the first people who ever opened a commerce with Russia by sea, but that they were the first who discovered her at all possessing an accessible sea-coast. To
them,

them, therefore, Archangel owed her rise from a poor fishing village to be the great emporium of northern trade: to that cause were the adjoining desert provinces indebted for the degrees of culture, improvement, and civilization, which they received; and the whole empire, for thereby obtaining a ready vent for their own goods and an easy supply of the numberless European commodities which they wanted.

But the empress seemed to be fast departing from that line of policy which had been so long generally pursued by her predecessors as well as herself, in their conduct with respect to England and France. The friendship shewn, and the effectual service done by England in that war against the Ottomans, which covered her reign with glory, and from which Russia derived such vast acquisitions of territory and so great an extension of at least apparent power, was but ill returned by the latter in her subsequent conduct, at the time that Great Britain was oppressed and nearly overborne by the greatest combination of hostile power which had been formed against any single state in modern times. The scheme of the armed neutrality was formed upon principles as unfriendly to England, and, intentionally, if not actually, as inimical to her interests, as any thing short of absolute hostility could well be; nor did it afford much less encouragement to her numerous enemies, nor depression to herself, (for friends
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she had none,) than an actual declaration of war from Russia would have done.

Indeed the wisdom of the policy adopted by Great Britain in that Russian and Ottoman war was much questioned, and her conduct no less censured, at the time, by not a few who were well acquainted with the general politics of Europe, as well as with the interests of its respective states. They contended, that she departed from the ancient principles, as well as the strict line of her policy, in encouraging or admitting Russia to take any hostile share in maritime affairs, without the limits assigned to her by nature in the Baltic; but that to lead her by the hand, as it were, from the bottom of the gulf of Finland to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and there to aid and encourage her in acquiring possessions which might enable her to establish a formidable naval force in those central seas, which would afford her an opportunity of continual interference in the concerns of the states of Europe, was represented as such a violation of all the obvious principles of policy, that it seemed to partake more of the rash predilection of an individual, than of those cold but comprehensive maxims which should regulate the conduct of states, and which should look as fully to future contingencies as to present effect.

The coincidence of views and designs between Russia and the house of Austria had drawn the bands of their union so close, that whatever excited

cited jealousy or dissatisfaction in the one was sure to operate no less powerfully upon the other; a circumstance by no means tending to render the sudden and extraordinary friendship which had sprung up between them the more pleasing to other states. This was fully exemplified in the hasty and uncalled-for sentence, without being authorized as a judge or mediator to interfere, which Russia pronounced against Holland on the affair of the Scheldt. The part taken by the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, in his accession to the germanic league, was, without question, the cause of distaste with both these formidable powers towards England: it was reported, and probably not without foundation, that the court of Petersburg was no less zealous or urgent than that of Vienna, first in its endeavours to prevent the accession to that league, and then in using every possible means which could induce the king to a renunciation of it. The failure in both produced such effects as were to be expected from the character and respective situation of the parties.

It is not, however, to be forgotten, that the commerce with England is to the full as essential to Russia as to the former; that a very considerable annual balance, in money, is gained by her from England on that trade; that no merchants, with smaller capitals or less commercial spirit than
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the English, could or would adventure the large sums of money which they constantly and necessarily advance long before the period of a return, in order to invigorate the manufactures, to set the people to work in a wide and poor country, and to enable the small traders to bring the goods, whether staple or manufacture, from their respective and remote districts, to market; and that, without this essential pecuniary assistance, a consequent decrease of industry and product must inevitably take place, trade and manufacture would languish, and whatever there was would become a monopoly in the hands of a few opulent natives, whose avarice would encumber it with such obstructions as would bring it to nothing. The advantages being thus reciprocal, the evil of any interruption to the long-established commerce between the two countries (if such it really would be to England, which is a question of much doubt) is likely to cure itself; and things, if not carried too far, will probably, in defiance of caprice or ill-humour, as in other cases of improper restrictions on trade, return to their natural channel. Commerce once lost is with great difficulty recovered; and it happens well to mankind in general, that there are but few products confined entirely to any one country. Our countrymen and old fellow-subjects the Americans would joyfully supply the place of Russia in
2 many

many respects, and those articles in which they are yet deficient might be procured in the intermediate time.

Ere she returned to her residence, Catharine made a visit to Mosco, and was there less unfavourably received than she had before been on similar occasions. Time had almost effaced the remembrance of her usurpation. Among the persons who appeared at her court was Gudovitch, who was easily distinguished, by the extreme simplicity of his dress, from the crowd of courtiers bespangled with stars, crosses, and badges of knighthood. His presence alone called up the image of Peter III. in every breast.

Countess Romanovna Vorontzof had been long recalled from exile, and was married to admiral Palianfky. The empress never invited her to court, but she sent for her daughter and admitted her into the number of the maids of honour; whether from compassion to the mother, or from kindness to the family of the Vorontzofs, is uncertain.

The spirit of toleration that animated the whole of Catharine's administration, was a very remarkable and almost singular phænomenon in a despotic government. Notwithstanding all opposition, the empress was true to the resolution she formed at the commencement of her reign; and, from that moment to the day of her death, not one instance occurred of a human being suffering, in any re-

spect whatever, on account of his religious opinions *. Not only the conquered provinces were protected in the free exercise of their religion, but lutherans, calvinists, moravian brethren, papists, mohammedans, heathens, and people of all countries and persuasions, might aspire to any post under government, and hold any civil or military employment or dignity, if they were but worthy, or deemed worthy of it. The intolerant of more polished nations might go to the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, Finland, and Russia, to take lessons of moderation and christian forbearance. But at Petersburg the general and peculiar feature in the public character is toleration; a virtue which, in some sense, has long since taken root in the nation at large, but in the residence, from the confluence of such numbers of people of various persuasions and the most diversified systems of faith, of the most dissimilar manners, customs, opinions, and prejudices, has acquired so general and extensive a sway, that certainly it is not easy to find a spot

* The empress, on all occasions, evinced great lenity of disposition towards heretics. "Poor wretches!" she once said, smiling, "since we know that they are to suffer so much and so long in the world to come, it is but reasonable that we should endeavour by all means to make their situation here as comfortable to them as we can." It was, however, as much as she could do to screen the rev. M. Samborsky from the fury of the monks for appearing without a beard, and in the ordinary dress of an english clergyman, on his return from a residence of several years in England.

of

of earth upon the globe, where, in this respect, a man may more quietly pass his days than at St. Petersburg. It is to be understood, moreover, that the word "toleration" is not here confined to that narrow meaning in which it is usually taken in speaking of an extorted and commanded forbearance in matters of religion, or of the permission for the weaker party to exist by a stated law. The idea here connected with the term includes a voluntary and universally diffused forbearance, in every place, and towards every person, his manner of thinking and acting. It therefore comprehends not only religious, but also political and social toleration, and is remarkable, not as the characteristic of the form of government, but as entirely that of the public*.

That religious toleration prevails in Russia appears plainly hence, that the great and extensive liberties which the tolerated sects of religion enjoyed under Catharine's protection, no where, either among the populace or the higher classes, never even among the clergy, excited the smallest discontent or rivalry. Prelates of the greek church lived with the religious teachers of other confessions of faith in the most friendly and familiar intercourse, and invited them to their tables and converse†; russian popes, when not in function

* Storch, Gemälde von Petersburg, vol. ii. p. 504.

† The writer of this note recollects with particular pleasure

function themselves, occasionally frequented the worship of the protestants, prosecuted their studies in Holland, England, and Germany, where they sometimes attended theological lectures. One instance even occurred of a respectable russian clergyman giving his daughter to be educated by a lutheran preacher. Among the laity of the greek sect of religion, this compatibility naturally proceeds farther. They appear not only as invited witnesses and sponsors on solemn occasions, but often, in the congregations of the foreigners, readily contribute to the support of their churches and schools, put their children to be educated by foreigners, and intermarry with them without hesitation, to whatever communion they may belong. In social intercourse never was any trace of religious party-spirit discernible. Conversations in regard to differences in religion were seldom heard; debates on subjects of that nature, never.

the agreeable hours he has passed at the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky, with that excellent and amiable metropolitan and archimandrite Gabriel archbishop of St. Petersburg and Novgorod; also with Plato archbishop of Mosco, Eugenius bishop of Kherfon, Shezronchevitch the catholic archbishop of Mohilef, Pamphilief her majesty's confessor, and numbers of the parochial clergy: nor can he ever forget the hospitable reception and entertainment he received, on a journey in the depth of winter, from the bishop of Kargapol, at his monastery on the banks of the Svir.

Examples

Examples of this amiable virtue would have turned to the disgrace of foreigners, had they not strove to follow them. But also among these a mutual toleration and indulgence prevailed, such as is but rarely seen even in the most enlightened countries. Clergymen of all religions lived in the greatest harmony, for the most part on an intimate footing. For several years the reformed and lutheran preachers held weekly meetings, in order to confer on matters of religion and the exercise of their duties, and to keep up their union by familiar converse *. This laudable circle was also visited at times by some of the catholic and russian clergy. Not many years ago, when the place of preacher to the german reformed congregation was vacant, the librarian of the academy of sciences †, who was a lutheran and not in orders, for a long time delivered discourses from their pulpit; and the english chaplain, on similar occasions, has often exhorted the french calvinist congregation on the great festivals of the church ‡. It was not unusual for lutheran preachers to administer the communion to the reformed, and preachers

* Alternately at each other's house. They consisted of Mr. Martin Luther Wolff, M. Lampe, M. Grott, M. Reinbott, M. Krokius, M. Reuter, and the english chaplain.

† M. Buisse, editor of the Peterburgische Journal, and other works.

‡ Properly speaking, it was on the day after these festivals; otherwise it would have been impossible.

of the latter persuasion have delivered funeral sermons in lutheran churches. Nay, it once happened that a lutheran preacher was sponsor to a catholic child: as he might easily, since the catholic priest omitted those questions to which the other, according to the system of his church, could not answer in the affirmative. Foreigners of all sects of religion contracted marriages with each other and with Russians, without attracting the slightest remark. For his religious opinions, in short, however extraordinary, no man had any thing to apprehend from the government or his equals, if he did not attempt to force them upon others, or seek to make proselytes. A great part of the foreigners even lived without professing themselves of any ecclesiastical connection; but no one ever set himself up as an inquisitor into the faith of these independents, and none troubled themselves about them.

The empress, not satisfied with having appointed a catholic archbishop, and established a seminary of jesuits at Mohilef, and with having supported islamism in the Krimea, she gave to her people almost every year some solemn instance of the protection she granted to the liberty of worship. On the day of the benediction of the waters, her confessor, by her orders, invited to his house the ecclesiastics of all communions, and gave them a grand entertainment, which Catharine

rine called the Dinner of Toleration *. Accordingly this year, at the same table were seated, the patriarch

* Ivan Pamphilief, her majesty's confessor, invited the clergy of the several communions in Petersburg to dine with him annually, on the 6th of January; who generally met in a company of fifteen or sixteen different denominations, all in the several habits of their church. At these agreeable meetings, his eminence Gabriel, metropolitan archbishop of Novgorod and St. Petersburg, always presided. Pamphilief did the honours of the table with that hospitality and suavity of manners for which the Russians are so famous among all that visit their country. When wines of various sorts were served round on a salver, the before-mentioned prelate once observed, with a sensible allusion to the occasion: "These wines are all good; they differ only in colour and taste."—The persons present at one of these dinners, as an example of the rest, were: Gabriel, metropolitan; Innocentius, archbishop of Pskove and Riga; Eugenius, archbishop of Kherfon, the famous translator of Virgil into greek hexameter verse; Ivan Pamphilief, the empress's confessor: all members of the holy synod. Other russian clergy were: Innocentius, archimandrite, and rector of the gymnasium at the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky; Antonius, archimandrite at the imperial corps of noble land-cadets; Basilius, protopope at the marine cadet corps; Andrew Samborsky, protopope of St. Sophia, formerly chaplain to the embassy at London; Nectarius, monk at the greek gymnasium; Sergius, monk at the imperial academy of arts; Sergius Livitof, pope of the imperial chapel; Ivan, chaplain at the imperial seminary for young ladies; Matthew, chaplain at the artillery and engineer cadet-corps; Basilius, chaplain at the imperial academy of sciences; Basilius, pope of the church of the annunciation; Stackæus, chaplain at the imperial noble land-cadet-corps; Joseph, deacon at the same. Lutheran preachers: Joachim Christian

patriarch of Grufinia or Georgia, the archimandrite of St. Petersburg, the bishop of Polotsk, the bishop of Pfcove, a catholic bishop, a prior

Grott, pastor of the Catharine church; Jeremiah Lewis Hoffmann, at the land-cadet-corps; Emanuel Indrenius, pastor of the Swedish church; John Henry Krogius, pastor of the Finns church; John George Lampe, alternate preacher at the Peter-church; Thomas Frederic Theodore Reinbott, pastor of the Anna-church; Martin Luther Wolff, alternate preacher at the Peter-church; Daniel Frederic Zachert, preacher at the artillery and engineer corps. Ministers of the reformed churches: John David Collins, pastor of the german reformed church; N. Mansbendel, pastor of the french reformed church; William Tooke, chaplain to the british factory; Mr. Reuter, the dutch reformed preacher; Christian Frederic Gregor, pastor of the congregation of the unitas fratrum. Roman catholic clergy: Sergius Krachinsky; Petrus Stankievitch; Hieronymus Beroldingen; Johannes de Ducla; Marius Dörmagen; Leopold Lafanky. Armenian clergy: Macarius Koskumof; Stephanus Lorismilikof; Nikita Tschcherkesof. Sometimes were present tartar moulas and kirghistzi priests; bishops and priests from the greek islands, from Valakhia, Moldavia, and the worthy abbé Guadalupe from Mexico. At the conclusion of the repast, which was very sumptuous, the metropolitan usually said, with a loud voice, either in ruf or latin, "Glory to God in the highest!—" "On earth peace.—Good will towards men!" Which done, the rest of the evening was spent in agreeable and sometimes facetious discourse, over a dessert of exquisite fruit and the choicest wines. The guests talked to one another in ruf, german, french, italian, &c. as it might happen to suit. But the general conversation was carried on in latin.—The whole of the expence was defrayed by the empress, and it was continued for several years.

of

of the same religion, franciscans, jesuits, an armenian priest, lutheran preachers, calvinists, and the english clergyman: in short, here were priests of no less than eight different forms of worship. It has been calculated, that the offices of religion are performed in Petersburg in fourteen different languages.

Ever since the commencement of her reign, Catharine had laboured with unremitted assiduity in diffusing instruction among her people. She had already, as we have seen, founded houses of education in several towns. She now took up the resolution of establishing them in like manner in various parts of the country. To this end a commission of public instruction was erected, at the head of which was placed her former favourite Zavadosky, who, without resuming his office in that capacity, was however taken again into distinguished notice, and had been appointed secretary of the cabinet, and governor of the Lombard, or loan bank.

This being an establishment of so singular a nature, deserves a little further mention. The empress, reversing the usual order of things, instead of borrowing money from her subjects, now became the great money-lender of the empire. Upon this principle she opened a bank, the capital of which consisted of thirty-three millions of rubles; and was empowered to emit bills, with the currency of money, to the amount of a hundred

dred millions more ; (which, at the lowest evaluation of the ruble at that time, amounted to twenty millions sterling ;) But it was particularly restricted from ever exceeding this prodigious emission of paper. Of the capital fund, twenty-two millions were to be lent to the nobility for the term of twenty years, upon mortgages on their estates, at an interest of five *per cent.* besides a payment of three *per cent.* which was to be applied annually towards the discharge of the original debt. The mortgages were not to include the whole estate ; but such a number of villages, with the peasants appertaining to them, as should appear to the directors a sufficient security ; the male peasants to be estimated at forty rubles per head, the females at thirty, well-grown boys and girls at twelve. The mortgaged estates were not subject to confiscation ; but heavy pecuniary mulcts were to arise upon any delay in paying either the five *per cent.* interest, or the three *per cent.* which is allotted to the discharge of the principal ; and if these mulcts be not sufficient to remedy the contumacy or neglect, the directors were to take the administration of the estate into their own hands. Four periods were stated in the course of the term, at any of which the borrower might redeem his estate by paying off the rest of the debt.

The remaining eleven millions of the capital were destined to the encouragement both of foreign
reign

reign commerce and of the internal trade of the empire, by being lent out to merchants and retail dealers for the term of twenty-two years, at only four *per cent.* interest, with the same annual application of three *per cent.* towards the discharge of the principal. The bank was likewise to act as an insurance office with respect to fire; but the houses must be built of brick or stone; and all foreigners, as well as natives, were admitted to the privileges of depositing their money in it, and of having her majesty's imperial word pledged to them as their security.

In the commission for the normal schools, after Zavadofsky came the learned Æpinus* and Pastukof†, private secretary to the empress. The other members of the commission were persons of no consequence, admitted through Zavadofsky's interest.

The commission was much divided in opinion touching the manner of instituting the normal schools, so as to fulfil the intentions of the empress. Æpinus, who was apprehensive lest obstinacy and ignorance should prevent the execution of the project, advised the adoption of the austrian

* Æpinus had been preceptor to Paul Petrovitch. He is a man not less distinguished by his virtues than by his extensive erudition. He has published several pieces on the mathematics, and a theory of the loadstone, much esteemed.

† Pastukof was likewise employed in the education of the grand duke Paul.

method; and after much resistance, his opinion was agreed to. He was undoubtedly aware of the defects in the austrian practice; but he thought better to erect imperfect seminaries, susceptible of progressive correction, than to have none of any kind.

The empress then proposed a variety of questions to Joseph II. concerning the normal schools of Austria: in consequence of which the emperor sent Yankovitch to her, as a man qualified to impart to her the information she required. Yankovitch, an old country schoolmaster, destitute of all talents, was no sooner arrived at Petersburg, than he was decorated with the title of counsellor of state, appointed director of the normal schools, and assessor to the commission of public instruction. He became, at the same time, the flatterer of Zavadofsky and the antagonist of Æpinus.

The importance attached by the empress to her commission of public instruction was such, that she was perpetually employed in sending notes to them, communicative of her ideas for bringing to due perfection these normal schools. Moreover, she attended them herself while the lessons were performing.

A learned German *, member of the academy

* A native of Hanover, named Bachmeister, who composed the only accurate work on the geography of Russia that ever appeared.

of sciences, consented to be professor of geography and history in the russian language : a very fortunate circumstance ; as no Russian would have been capable of it. Catharine, being present one day, with several of her courtiers, at a lecture which the academician was delivering to the several tribes that inhabit Siberia, after listening to him with fixed attention, she bestowed great commendation on him, both for his knowledge and his zeal. She afterwards proposed an objection to some of his observations ; to which he replied in the most satisfactory manner. Zavadofsky and some others, unaccustomed to see a literary man utter an opinion contradictory to that of the sovereign, seemed to take fire at this great instance of presumption : but the empress was eager to acknowledge that she had been led into a mistake ; and returned thanks to the academician for having rectified it with so much ability. Observing, at the same time, the displeasure of Zavadofsky, she embraced the opportunity offered her by the moment of his attending her to the carriage, to order him to repeat her thanks to the professor. This, however, did not prevent the president of the board of instruction from punishing this worthy man for his courage, by turning him out of his place, and even out of his lodgings. These particulars may perhaps appear of little consequence ; but every thing that tends to the exhibition of
personal

personal character is always fit matter for biography.

A victory claimed by Russia was pretty well authenticated by the capture of a tartar khan, two of his sons, and a nephew, who were all brought prisoners to Petersburg. This action was, however, acknowledged to have been very severe; and it was owned, that in the beginning the shock fell so heavily upon the regiment of Astrakhan, that it was defeated, ruined, and its colonel killed.

In the latter part of the year 1785, great havoc was made and execution done among the kuban Tartars, by the Russians. It would seem that the whole nation had been either subdued, cut off, or totally ruined, by the destruction of their villages, and the loss of their flocks and herds at the approach of winter. Brigadier-general Apraxin and a colonel Nagel distinguished themselves greatly about this time, either against the kuban, or some other nations of Tartars; for, from the loose accounts that were always published of these transactions, we cannot pretend to ascertain dates, places, or circumstances. It appears, however, that colonel Nagel had the honour of being the first who defeated the new prophet, sheik Manfour, and his adherents; who, being disappointed in the succour which he had taught them to expect from heaven, were doomed to a sore conviction,

viction, that their fanaticism was no proof whatever against the russian bayonets. The prophet fought boldly on foot, at the head of seven or eight thousand of his followers, who were in the same situation (which evidently shews that they were not Tartars); and his own reliance on the divine aid appears to have been so weak, that as a substitute he employed his invention in the construction of some sort of rolling machines, which in their approach to the enemy they pushed on before them, as a cover from their fire. But the russian foot rushing on furiously with their bayonets, and the cavalry falling in pell-mell upon the wings and rear, this rabble was soon routed, and pursued with unremitting slaughter. The impostor was wounded, but had the fortune to escape.

1786. Yermolof had arrived at the pinnacle of favour; and he was thrust from it by his own imprudence. This favourite, tall, fair complexioned, and of a figure declarative of a soul that could not be roused from apathy, was jealous to an extreme. He presently behaved ungratefully to prince Potemkin, to whom he owed his fortune. He eagerly laid hold of every opportunity that offered to injure him; and it was only in opposition to him that he defended the unhappy khan Sahim-Gueray, the payment of whose pension was cruelly neglected. The empress, who became every day more indulgent to her lovers, shewed some coolness to Potemkin, and even to the ambassador

ambassador of France, whose interest at court gave equal offence to Yermolof.

Bezborodko, Alexander Vorontzof, and some others of the court, contributed, by their instigations, to exasperate the favourite. Yermolof had an uncle named Levashef, whom Potemkin had dismissed from the service with disgrace, in consequence of a quarrel at play*, in which this Levashef had the wrong side of the question.

* Potemkin played enormously high, but always generously. — Being at Mohilef, where that brutal Passick was commandant, who had been raised to a general's rank in reward for the part he had taken in the dethronement of Peter III. he pointed at pharao; Passick, who cut, had the effrontery to try to slip away a card. Potemkin perceived it, took him by the collar, and gave him about a score of cuffs in the face; after which he set out for Petersburg. All that were present at this scene looked upon Passick as a lost man. But having a daughter who was maid of honour to the empress, and who moreover was very handsome, she easily obtained the delinquent's pardon. Potemkin was often hurried away by his passions. He once struck prince Vassili Dolgoruky under pretence that this prince took the part of general Kretschetnikof; but the real cause of his anger was, that, being fond of the princess Dolgoruky, she had resisted his importunities. He also struck prince Volkonsky, because, while at table, that prince clapped his hands at some witticism from this despotic favourite. Prince Potemkin rose up, took him by the collar, gave him several blows with his fist, saying, "What! you applaud me as if I were a buffoon!" Then, turning to the austrian general Jordis, who was also at table: "There, general," said he, "that is the way to treat this sort of scoundrels."

Yermolof

Yermolof complained of it to the empress. Potemkin being reproved by her majesty, felt himself so hurt by it, that he haughtily said to her:—

“Madam, there is but one alternative, you must either dismiss Yermolof or me: for, so long as you keep that white negro*, I shall not set my foot within the palace.”—The same day Yermolof received orders to travel. Momonof succeeded him.

These intrigues were scarcely heard of beyond the precincts of the court: and Catharine’s love of glory was universally known.

The learned professor Pallas, during his travels into the inner parts of Russia, had collected a great number of natural curiosities, and by this means had formed a valuable cabinet. The empress purchased it of him at a very round price; as she had also some years before purchased the library of d’Alembert and that of Voltaire †.

Several

* Potemkin called Yermolof by that name, because he was so extremely fair.

† Voltaire had not long been dead when Catharine commissioned her correspondent at Paris to buy for her the library of the author of “Mahomet.” Madame Denis, who had inherited that library, told the correspondent that she would not sell it, but that she would willingly make her homage of it to the empress. Upon this her majesty wrote her the following letter:

“Petersburg, Aug. 15, 1778.

“I just now learn, madam, that you consent to make a surrender to me of that precious deposit left you by your

Several travellers had at various times, by her orders, traversed the northern Archipelago, and the remotest of the russian provinces. In the year

“ late uncle, that library which souls of sensibility will never
 “ behold without recollecting that this great man had the art
 “ of inspiring mankind with that universal benevolence, which
 “ all his writings breathe, even those of mere entertainment,
 “ because his soul was deeply penetrated with it. No man
 “ before him ever wrote like him: to future generations he
 “ will be both an example and a rock. To equal him, genius
 “ and philosophy must unite in one person with literature and
 “ entertainment; in a word, he must be M. de Voltaire. If,
 “ with all Europe, I have taken part in your grief, madam,
 “ for the loss of that incomparable man, you have entitled
 “ yourself to participate in the grateful returns I owe to his
 “ writings. I am, indeed, extremely sensible to the esteem
 “ and the confidence which you shew me. It is highly flatter-
 “ ing to me to see that they are hereditary in your family. The
 “ generosity of your behaviour is your security for my favour-
 “ able sentiments in regard to you. I have written to Mon-
 “ sieur de Grimm † to deliver to you some inconsiderable testi-
 “ monies of it, which I desire you to accept.

“ CATHARINE.”

Her majesty had written on the cover: — “ For madame
 “ Denis, niece of a great man who loved me much.” At the
 conclusion of this letter, the empress requested of madame
 Denis a plan in relief of the façade and of the interior distri-
 bution of the château de Ferney, as well as the gardens and
 its avenues, as she proposed to have a building exactly like it
 in the grounds adjacent to Tzarisko-selo; a design that has never
 been executed.

† M. Grimm was at Paris the literary correspondent of the empress.

1785 she sent again several learned persons, some towards Caucasus, others to the frontiers of China, for the purpose of discovering, exploring, and examining, the most remote provinces, and the yet unknown parts of that immense empire. The difficulties and perils to which this expedition by land was supposed liable, through the trackless deserts which were to be explored, the inhospitality of the climates, and the barbarity of the nations that were to be encountered, with the numberless obstacles of various sorts that were to be surmounted, rendered the prospect much more terrible than it had appeared to our circumnavigators in any of their late great voyages of discovery. The boldest and most enterprising of all nations were accordingly sought out for this undertaking, and high rewards and promises held out as an encouragement to their zeal and perseverance. Baron de Valchen Stedtz, who had a regiment of cavalry in the empress's service, was appointed commander in chief upon this expedition. His corps consisted of 810 chosen men, who were led on by 107 officers of different degrees of distinction, and accompanied by pioneers, artillery-men, handycraftmen, draughtsmen, engineers, an historiographer, and naturalists. It need scarcely be observed, that they were amply provided with all manner of necessaries, and that they were furnished with credentials suited to every circumstance and situation. It was sup-

posed that the expedition could not be completed within three years.

The only fruit of their discoveries which came to the knowledge of the public was that of a small fugitive colony of strangers and christians, whom they found shut up from the world in a most sequestered part of the wilds of Caucasus; and who, in the language of the country, are called Tschetshes. These poor people are said to lead lives of the most exemplary piety, and to exhibit a primæval simplicity of manners. They are totally ignorant of their origin, any farther than knowing that they are strangers, as which they are likewise considered by the scattered neighbouring nations. From an affinity in their language, and some other circumstances, they are supposed to be descended from a colony of Bohemians, who flying from the religious persecutions in their own country towards the close of the fifteenth century, found at length a refuge from oppression in the distance from the rest of mankind which these remote deserts afforded.

Not satisfied with the discoveries which this expedition by land might produce, the empress formed another by sea about the same time, in order to extend and ascertain those which, within the present century, have been unsuccessfully attempted or imperfectly made by different russian navigators. Lieutenant-colonel Blaumayer was appointed to conduct this expedition, and commissioned

missioned to take along with him, besides able navigators, a number of persons skilled in various arts, to assist in making proper enquiries, and in turning to the greatest advantage such discoveries as they might make, or were already made. They were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadyr, and to prosecute with greater accuracy and stricter observation those discoveries which had been made by former navigators, of several inhabited islands lying about the 64th degree of latitude, in situations advantageous for trade. They were then to double Tchukotskoïnos, and entering the straits which separate Siberia from America, to pursue their voyage at least to the 74th degree of latitude; but if they found the seas practicable, to proceed as much farther as circumstances would permit.

It is a singular circumstance, at least in the modern history of the old world, for a prince to be under the necessity of undertaking great expeditions by sea and land, in order to discover new countries within his own dominions. Such is the vastness of that unbounded empire!

But the great work, which, if ever it be completed, will be a lasting monument to the glory of Catharine, is the navigable canal in the province of Tver, which, by opening a communication between the river Tvertza and the Msta, the former of which falls directly into the Volga, and the latter, by the great lakes, opens the pas-

sage to the Neva, will not only establish an inland navigation through all the vast countries that lie between the shores of the Caspian and the Baltic, but will actually unite these distant seas; an union unexampled in the history of mankind.

These enterprises have by some been attributed rather to a vain desire in Catharine of causing her name to be resounded throughout Europe, than from a real love of the sciences. In confirmation of which it has been observed, that in the latter case care would have been taken to publish to the world whatever these travellers had discovered, either without or within her extensive dominions. But, though their departure was always emphatically announced, their return was only attended by a clandestine light.

In 1784 Mr. Pallas conceived the plan of a new expedition to the northern Archipelago, and drew up instructions for the navigator who was to be employed in it. This navigator was Billings, an Englishman, who had been assistant astronomer to the justly celebrated captain Cook, in his voyages round the world. One of his instructions was, to find out a port for establishing an admiralty; meaning thereby, a port for building, putting into dock, and stationing ships of war and other vessels. He first proceeded to the river Kovima; where he caused a vessel to be built, for the purpose of doubling Tchukotkoïnofs, but in this attempt he was not able to succeed.

The

The year following captain Billings sailed about the islands of the eastern ocean, departing from Okhorzk and the bay of Avatsha as far as the coasts of Japan. A captain of the navy was sent to join him in 1787, and to examine the coast as far as the mouth of the Amoor, and to fix on a port. Oud, not far from the entrance of that river, was the place they chose. At the distance of two hundred versts south of Oud, they also found a very fine harbour beyond the chinese frontier. It was at length determined to erect the admiralty on the american coast, either at Prince William's sound or at Comptroller's bay. They explored likewise many other excellent havens on the american coast. Catharine wrote in 1788 to these captains, and to the commander of the russian fortresses, that she had sent six ships from the Baltic to Kamtchatka, to co-operate with a powerful army that was to go down the Amoor, and take possession of its banks to its mouth, and all the country to the left. Captain Billings even constructed the charts of his voyage; but the discoveries which he made are not of much importance. He, however, collected several curiosities, and brought to Petersburg a native of Unalashka, and a woman whom the inhabitants of that island had carried off from the shores of America, and who related that she came from a part of the continent very remote from that coast.

Being returned to Petersburg, captain Billings began to put into order, with the assistance of Mr. Pallas, the journal of his voyage*. But it is much to be feared that the work will break off in the middle, and, like those we spoke of before, be lost to the public†.

The

* Mr. John Ledyard, an American, if he had not been stopped on his journey, was the man who would doubtless have given us much excellent information; having about sixteen years ago formed the design of travelling on foot to the Tschouktschis, of crossing Behring's straits with some of them, and thence proceeding to the english settlements at Hudson's bay. He undertook this extraordinary journey alone and unarmed. He was arrested at Yakutsk, under pretence of his being a spy, and conveyed away to the frontiers of Prussia, whence he returned to England. This intrepid pedestrian went afterwards to Egypt in the design of traversing all Africa on foot: but death put a stop to his noble undertaking at Grand Cairo.

† All that can be collected from some private letters is, that the question so long in doubt about the north-east passage, seems to be at length fairly negatived by the following curious fact, establishing the eternal icy barriers of Phips, Cook, and Billings, viz. Regularly every spring immense herds of reindeer, thousands and ten thousands strong, come over to the open plains on the asiatic side, to avoid the insects of the close damp american woods, and as regularly go back every August, feeding on the moss of the intermediate islands in their passage.

Now, as that is the very time when the continued action of the summer's heat must have opened the sea, if ever it did thaw; an open passage is out of all probability; and indeed

Billings

The empress, desirous of augmenting the population of Kherson, and her newly-acquired provinces of Taurida and Caucasus, published a manifesto inviting foreigners to come and settle in those countries. We shall here insert a few fragments from it.

“ The protection which we habitually grant to
“ strangers who come either to carry on their
“ commerce, or to exert their industry in our
“ empire, is generally known. Every one may
“ enjoy in our dominions the free exercise of the
“ religion of his fathers, a perfect security, and
“ the protection of the laws and government.
“ All the necessaries and the accommodations of
“ life, as well as the means of acquiring riches,
“ there offer themselves, both from the fertility
“ of the soil, and the objects adapted to com-
“ merce. The territory of Caucasus, in sub-
“ mission to our sceptre, affords all these resources
“ in greater abundance than the other provinces
“ of our empire. Foreigners who are willing to
“ settle there, whether in the towns, or in the
“ country, will be sure to find a peaceful asylum
“ with many advantages. They shall be,
“ during six years, exempt from all duties to the

Billings gives it as his opinion, that the thickness of the ice, every where, (except just about the mouths of large rivers, whose warmer waters make a partial opening as far as they extend,) is such, that a ten years continued summer would scarce reduce it to a fluid state.

“ crown.

“ crown. If, at the expiration of that term, they shall signify their intention to leave our dominions, they shall be at full liberty to go, on paying only the value of the imposts of three years *.”

By another manifesto, which appeared within a few months after the former, the empress declared to all the inhabitants of Russia and Tartary, that it was no longer required of them, in addressees to her, to call themselves her *slaves*, but only her *subjects* †. That princess was not ignorant of the means of rendering herself popular, and she often employed them with art. One of those which served greatly to render her so, was the care she took of children. Whether from inclination or from policy, she had always a great number of them in her apartments. There they enjoyed the same liberty with the princes her grandchildren, and she returned their caresses with extreme complaisance.

The same style of outward magnificence, with the same munificent spirit in the disposal of boun-

* This manifesto bears date from Tzariko-selo, the 14th of July 1785. — By her successor Paul I. the two sea-ports of Feodosia and Evpatoria in Taurida have been declared free ports for a term of thirty years, and leave has been granted to all russian, as well as foreign merchants, not only to import all sorts of goods and merchandizes into the above ports duty-free, but also to export them thence to all other places in Taurida, without paying either customs or other duty.

† Letters, memorials, and petitions, with erasures in them, might be presented to her without danger of her taking offence. She never imagined that there was any intention therein of insulting her dignity.

ties or rewards, which had so eminently distinguished the court of Petersburg through the reign of Catharine, still continued to be its principal characteristics. Every thing that comes within these descriptions was done in the highest style of grandeur, and seemed not only suited to the present greatness, but to the rising hope and fortune of that empire. Indeed, the empress proceeded upon so large a scale in these matters, that it seemed rather to be graduated by an asiatic than an european model. It is not often seen, at least in the western world, that a great military power, whose ambition and armaments spread apprehension or terror all round, and which seemed almost constantly looking for war, should at the same time exceed all others in the splendid establishments of peace and luxury.

The empress had publicly announced, in the beginning of the year of which we are treating, her intention of making a magnificent progress to Kherfon and the Krimea, in order to her being crowned sovereign of the new conquests. This design was apparently conceived at first in the most splendid ideas of eastern magnificence and grandeur. It was given out, that Catharine was to be crowned queen of Taurida, and to be declared protectress of all the nations of Tartars. That, in order to render the solemnization of this great act the more august, awful, and more extensively striking, she was to be attended by the metropolitan, by six other archbishops, and by

by a great body of the clergy ; which with the court and its attendants would have formed a prodigious train. Triumphal arches were to be erected, and enriched with sculptures, devices, and inscriptions, on the approaches to Kherson, and in the town. The empress was to be drawn on the latter part of the way in a triumphal car, with a wreath of laurel on her head ; and the concourse of people was expected to be so great, that the multitudes which attend the pilgrimages to Mecca would no longer be regarded as a wonder. She was besides to be escorted by a formidable army, to consist of no less than six regiments of cavalry, and twenty-two of infantry. The magnificence of the procession, whether by land or by water, was to be suited to that of the grand concluding ceremonial. A fleet of galleys were built on the Dniepr ; and, besides their embellishments and decorations, were to be furnished with all the accommodations necessary for a court, or usually found in a great city. It seemed as if cost was a matter not to be thought of in these preparations ; and it is scarcely credible, though positively asserted, that the prodigious sum of seven millions of rubles * had been originally dedicated to the purpose only of those presents which were to be distributed at the coronation.

The same allowance is probably to be made for vanity and exaggeration in some of these

* Amounting to about a million and a half sterling.

accounts,

accounts, which is usually necessary in similar cases: but it is certain, however, that every thing that could be conceived splendid or grand, was included in the original design, and the usual magnificence of the empress seems to give a sanction to the whole. It is likewise to be remembered, that there was a grand political object in view in this splendour and expence; that it was undoubtedly expected that all the adjoining nations would have been either terrified by the power, or fascinated by the pomp, splendour, and wealth, which were now to be displayed; and that the tartar chiefs, under these impressions, would not only have rendered the scene truly glorious, by coming from all parts to do homage to the new monarch of the east, but that she would thereby have enlarged and secured her dominion without the trouble of war and conquest.

The reigning duke of Courland had long been out of favour at the court of Petersburg, and being now represented or supposed to be in a precarious state of health, it afforded an opportunity of marching a body of russian troops into that duchy, under the colour of supporting the freedom of election in case of his demise; a pretence sufficient to excite the risibility of those who were not too seriously affected by their interest in the country to laugh at being reminded of its condition.

C H A P. XV.

Catharine II. takes a journey to the Krimea. — Assassination of khan Sahim-Gueray. — The Turks declare war against Russia. — Gustavus III. invades Finland. — Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Russians. — Bentzelstierna makes an attempt to burn the russian fleet at Copenhagen. — Capture of Otchakof. — Peace of Varela. — Victories obtained over the Turks. — Capture of Ismail. — Dismission of Momonof. — Elevation of Zubof. — The court of Great Britain sends Mr. Fawkener to Petersburg. — Peace of Yassy. — Death of prince Potemkin. — 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792.

THE grand political object which Catharine had in view in this intended display of magnificence and power, was, after having solemnly taken the sceptre of the Krim, and awed the surrounding nations into submission, to conduct her grandson Constantine * to the gates of that Oriental

* At his birth he was put into the hands of greek nurses fetched on purpose from the isle of Naxos. He was always dressed

Oriental Empire to which she had destined him from his birth. All was in movement for completing the preparations, when the young prince fell sick of the measles, and he was obliged to be left at Petersburg. This circumstance, together with the news of some skirmishes, and even more serious engagements that had happened in the Krim between the Russians and the Tartars, occasioned a great alteration in the scheme of the progress to Kherson. It was now greatly narrowed in the design, was disincumbered of much of its intended superb magnificence; the great object of the coronation, and of the assumption of new titles, was entirely given up; the formidable military force that was expected did not attend; the procession did not take place at the time proposed; and the only end obtained, saving the conferences held with the king of Poland and the emperor, was nothing more than the empress's shewing herself to the new subjects, and appearing to take some sort of formal possession of Kherson and the Krimea.

The Georgians, Lefghis, and other Tartars that inhabit these unmeasured, and almost un-

dressed in the fashion of the Greeks, and surrounded by children of that nation, that he might acquire the greek language, which he soon spoke with great facility. It was even in regard to him that the grecian cadet corps of two hundred cadets was established.

known

known regions, and who seem scarcely to know any particular owner, as soon as the report of the intended grand progress was spread amongst them, instead of producing the expected effect, in dazzling or terrifying these Tartars, it served, on the contrary, as a signal of general and immediate danger, to cement their union in the strongest manner, and to urge them to the greatest possible exertion, and to the most determined resistance. This soon became apparent: and the war of the Crimea was growing daily more serious.

The meetings and conferences of great and ambitious monarchs have ever been deemed dangerous to their equals in power, and terrible to their inferiors. If all former instances of their nature and effect had been forgotten, the combination which desolated the kingdom of Poland, might serve to warn mankind in similar cases. It can therefore be no matter of surprise, that the ottoman court, which had already received proofs of no very disinterested dispositions in its great christian neighbours, should have been to the last degree alarmed by the approaching congress at Kherfon; where the bands of union were to be cemented and drawn more straitly between two of the most formidable powers in the universe; whose ambition was at last equal to their power; and whose object in this meeting was understood as aiming at nothing less than the subversion of that empire.

And

And as if this combination of the two imperial powers of Russia and Germany had not been in itself sufficiently alarming and dangerous, the poor king of Poland, who had already been the victim to their mutual enmity, was now, upon their ambition taking a new direction, called to participate, in some small degree, in the fruits of their union. He could not indeed add much, nor perhaps any thing, to the scale of hostile power against the ottomans by actual exertion; but this was not, in fact, the kind of aid which the great allies wanted, and wished to draw from him. Their own forces were sufficiently numerous to answer all the purposes to which, from the nature of things, armies could be applied with effect.

Poland in repose was equal in value to the activity of any other ally. By its situation it was capable of uniting the two empires in such a manner as to render their force one, and enable their combined or separate armies to make their impression in any one or different parts of three-fourths of a vast circle, by which they would then embrace so great a part of the turkish frontiers. Its products were no less valuable. Besides abundant room for winter quarters, hospitals, magazines, places of refreshment, and all those other appendages necessary to great armies, the country was to be considered as a vast granary, teeming with every kind of provision; nor were

its military resources despicable with respect to men; but in regard to horses, cattle, and forage, they were unequalled. Thus was Poland capable of becoming a most useful member of the confederacy; an accession of hostile strength, which to the ottomans would be the more intolerably grievous from the recollection, that all their late misfortunes, along with the present unprosperous state of their affairs, originated in their apparently generous endeavours to preserve the freedom and independence of that republic, and to prevent the alienation of her dominions, in opposition to the rapacious views of those very powers with whom she was now to be leagued against them.

It was afterwards even rumoured that the king's friendship (limited as his authority was) had been secured, in one of the conferences held on this memorable progress to Kherfon, by the present of a very large sum of money (amounting to near half a million sterling) in rubles; and that report had so much effect, that he was publicly charged, at the ensuing diet, with having, at that conference, entered into private conditions inimical to the republic; and the decided part which with apparent risque to himself he had taken in support of the russian views and interest, undoubtedly afforded some colour to the charge, yet it should likewise be remembered, that he owed his seat on the throne to the empress of Russia; and that gratitude being one of the most predominant qualities

qualities of his private character, he had never since omitted any opportunity of shewing his sense of that obligation; and had, perhaps, under that impression, in some cases, confounded the virtues of the man too much with the duties of the sovereign.

We have shewn the very interesting appeal, under the form of a declaration or manifesto, which the grand signior made in the year 1786, not only to his own subjects, but to the whole race of Mohammedans, shewing the common danger to which they were liable shortly to be exposed, and calling upon them, by every thing dear or sacred to men, to prepare and unite, with hearts and with hands, in order to repel the designs of their implacable enemy, whose views were not directed to conquest, but to extermination, and who, if they were permitted to succeed, would stop at nothing short of the utter annihilation of the ottoman name, and the extinction of all true believers from the face of the earth.

It is little to be doubted that an appeal of so new and extraordinary a nature, coming from a sovereign so great, and a name which had for so many ages been in the highest degree revered, clothed in the most pathetic language, and stating circumstances of such evident injury as would have interested the feelings of strangers, and even those of a different communion, must have operated most powerfully in all those wide

regions where the mohammedan creed predominated. Such was the state of things, and such the season of apprehension and alarm, that every mussulman was already, in imagination, snatching up his weapons, and rushing to the common defence, when the report was spread abroad of the imperial Catharine's intended triumphal procession to Kherfon, to receive the homage of conquered nations, and to celebrate with an ostentation unknown to later ages the triumph of her arms, and her inauguration to new kingdoms and empires. The vastness and prodigality of the original design, with the powerful army which was included in it, were of themselves sufficient to spread amazement and terror on all sides; but when to this was added the effect produced by the language of flattery and of vanity on the spot, and the application incident to all reports, in proportion to the length of their course, it is not to be wondered at if this spectacle was magnified and rendered more terrific in the conception of distant and ignorant nations.

But it was not merely the gratification of feminine vanity in celebrating a triumph over a fallen enemy, however distasteful and odious such a celebration must necessarily be, that chiefly affected the ottomans with regard to this progress. A report was spread, and the opinion very generally received, that the empress of Russia's ambition soared so high, that the acquisition of provinces or kingdoms were little farther estimated
by

by her, than as they might lead to the attainment of her grand object; and that this was nothing less than the placing of her second grandson, prince Constantine, on the throne of the ancient greek emperors at Constantinople; and thereby establishing, in her own family, two mighty empires, capable, perhaps, of subverting Europe and Asia. The christian name of that prince was brought as circumstantial evidence in support of this opinion; and the conduct of Russia in various respects, since the conclusion of the peace of Kainardgi, the conditions of which she had so frequently violated, were brought as farther corroborations. Particularly her continual endeavours to weaken the ottoman empire, by loosening her dependencies on every side, both in Europe and in Asia, and exciting the vassal princes to withdraw from their allegiance: her debauching the Greeks in all places, through the agency of her consuls, and rendering them ripe for rebellion; her insidious arts to excite insurrections in Egypt, by offering to render the turbulent beys sovereigns of their respective provinces under her protection; and her unceasing efforts to corrupt even those mussulman officers, who held public employments, civil or military, in all parts adjoining to the frontiers.

The ruined tartars too, who had been driven from the Krimea; and their other ancient seats, filled all places with their complaints of the pusil-

lanimity of the port in thus abandoning them, and called loudly upon heaven and earth for justice and vengeance. Now the intended and avowed enthronement of Catharine, would be affixing a final seal to all the usurpations of Russia since the peace of Kainardgi; for as such the porte considered, or affected to consider, the seizure of the Crimea and of the neighbouring countries; insisting, that, as they had only been obtained by fraud and circumvention, in the midst of peace, no claim could lie against them by the laws of arms as a conquest, and it would not be pretended that the Russians could have any prior right to them; and as to the subsequent convention, which seemed to give a sanction to the seizure, they asserted it was only a temporary measure, adopted for the present to divert the evils of war, until an equitable arrangement of frontier between the two empires could take place, the Tartars should be restored to their rights, and their future independence firmly established. It was further said, that it would be an extraordinary violation of all laws, human and divine, for the porte to pretend to barter or assign the rights and dominions of others; and it would render the injustice still more flagrant and odious, if they concurred, in any degree, in stripping the race of Timur, their perpetual allies, and eventual successors to the ottoman throne, of the patrimony which they derived from their glorious ancestors.

Such

Such were not the principles upon which their government acted; justice and good faith, whether with respect to musfulmans or christians, were the invariable maxims of the porte.

The empress set out *, accompanied by her ladies of honour, by the favourite Momonof, the grand-ecuyer Narishkin, count Ivan Chernichef, the two counts Shuvalof, and several more of the courtiers, with the ambassadors of Austria and France, and the english envoy †. The sledges travelled night and day. A great number of horses had been previously collected at every station; large fires were lighted at the distance of every thirty fathom, and an immense crowd of persons, attracted by curiosity, skirted the road.

On the sixth day the empress arrived at Smolensk. Fifteen days after she made her entry into Kief, where the princes Sapieha and Lubomirsky, the Potockis, the Branitskies, and most of the other nobles of Poland who were devoted to Russia, had repaired to meet the sovereign.

Prince Potemkin had gone on before. He joined her at Kief, as well as prince Nassau-Siegen; who, for some time past, had been engaged in the russian service. Marshal Romant-zof was there also. Already hurt at the arro-

* The 18th of January.

† Previous to their departure Catharine made each of these three ministers a present of a pelisse, a fur-cap, and a muff.

gance of Potemkin *, he had, during his stay at Kief, additional causes of complaint, and his discontent became visible. But, whatever value the empress set upon the brilliant services of the vanquisher of the Ottomans, the favour of Potemkin was undiminished.

The rocks that contracted the navigation of the Dniepr had been previously broken, and fifty magnificent galleys were disposed on that river for the reception of the empress. Her majesty, at the beginning of the spring, went to Kremenchuk, and embarked † there attended by a numerous suite.

The next day the fleet cast anchor over against Kanief. The king of Poland, who had come thither under his old name of count Poniatofsky, repaired immediately on board the empress's galley. The two sovereigns had not seen each other for the space of three and twenty years ‡. On their first meeting, Catharine seemed rather affected: but Stanislaus Augustus preserved his entire presence of mind, and discoursed with great composure. Soon after this they remained alone in the apart-

* Marshal Romantzof was general in chief of the cavalry, and during the space of fourteen years there was no promotion in that corps; because prince Potemkin had a dislike to the marshal.

† The 6th of May.

‡ It has been said that a private interview between them took place at Riga in 1764.

ment belonging to the empress, and had a private conference, which lasted somewhat more than half an hour. After which, they went over to another galley, where they dined together *. Catharine decorated her former favourite with the ribbon of the order of St. Andrew.

Prince Potemkin, who had never seen the polish monarch, seemed quite enchanted at now meeting him. It was perhaps to the impression which it made on him, that Stanislaus Augustus had to ascribe the preservation of his crown for some years longer than he otherwise would. However this be, he retired that evening highly satisfied to all appearance at the reception he had met with, and the fleet continued its course.

At Kremenshuk the empress was lodged in a house superbly ornamented. There she found an army of twelve thousand men in new uniforms, who presented before her a sham-fight by manœuvring in four columns, with a square battalion of kozaks †.

The

* On getting up from table Stanislaus Augustus took the fan and the gloves of the empress from the hands of the page who held them, and presented them to her majesty. Catharine immediately took the king's hat which was held by his page, and moved it towards him. "Ah, madam," said he, alluding to the crown of Poland, "you have given me a much finer."

† It was on that occasion that the empress, who was granting favours to every body, and of whom every body was pressing

The passage by water was still more agreeable. The shores of the Dniepr were covered with villages constructed for the occasion, with peasants elegantly dressed tending numerous flocks, who came by cross-roads to different places on the coast, which the fleet was to pass, and were thus incessantly re-produced before the eyes of the voyagers. The beauty of the season even added to the magical effects of the spectacle presented to the empress, and altogether converted this almost desert region into a delightful country.

Joseph II. * had arrived at Kherfon some time before the empress. He set out to meet her, and joined her majesty at Kaïdak; where she immediately set foot on shore, and proceeded by land to Kherfon, to which place the emperor returned with her. Here Catharine lodged at the admiral-

pressing to ask them, said to Suvarof:—"And you, general, do you want nothing?"—"Only that you would order my lodgings to be paid, madam," answered Suvarof. The rent of his lodgings was three rubles a month.—Alexander Vassillievitch Suvarof, at present field marshal and commander of the Russians in Italy, is a general of no less singularity than intrepidity. He was as yet very little known in Catharine's first war against the Turks, when, being once in an engagement, he darted into the midst of the enemy's ranks, stabbed several of the janissaries, cut off their heads, filled a large sack with them, and came and emptied it at the feet of his general. This sanguinary warrior never commences a battle without first repeatedly making the sign of the cross.

* Under the title of count Falkenstein.

ty,

ty, where a throne had been erected for her which cost fourteen thousand rubles *.

Kherfon seemed already an opulent city; having a number of rich magazines †, a harbour full of vessels, and dock-yards well supplied. A 66-gun man of war was launched in the presence of the empress, and a frigate of forty guns. As her majesty was going through the several parts of the town, she read upon a gate, on the side to the east, a greek inscription of this import:—"By
" THIS THE WAY LEADS TO BYZANTIUM."

There was at that time a great number of foreigners: Greeks, Tartars, French ‡, Spaniards, English, Poles; some drawn thither by curiosity, others by the desire of paying homage to the empress. Prince Potemkin presented to her Miranda §, who had been presented to him by a foreign

* The journey to the Krimea cost seven millions of rubles. All the houses where the empress was to bait were built, or at least furnished for the occasion. None but new linen was used at every meal, which was afterwards given to the people of the house, or to some persons of the retinue.

† Mercantile commodities had been brought on purpose from Mosco and Warsaw.

‡ Among the French were Edward Dillon and Alexander Lameth.

§ Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah, had gone to New York and into Canada: from North America he went to Constantinople and to Kherfon. Being afterwards at Petersburg, he was demanded by Normandes the minister of Spain. But the empress refused to give him up; and when he quitted Russia, she recommended him to her ministers at foreign courts.

minister,

minister, and who, being obliged to fly his native country, sought an asylum among the Russians, and was afterwards a general in the service of the French. Miranda arrived at Kherfon in company of a frenchman named Leroux, who passed for a secret emissary of Calonne *.

Among the women who had resorted to the court of Catharine, was a grecian lady already famous †, whose charms had touched the heart of

* What chiefly contributed to bring Leroux into suspicion of being a spy, was, that he was never in want of money; yet no one knew whence he obtained it. Falling desperately in love with the wife of a jew-merchant, named Markus, he remained at Kherfon. Madame Markus, however, discarded him in favour of major Bremer, to whom she was afterwards married. One day, being provoked at the reproaches of Leroux, she gave him a slap on the face, which the insulted lover took so much to heart that he blew out his brains with a pistol.—Madame Markus was the daughter of a french merchant, named Dauphiné, at whose house the celebrated philanthropist Howard terminated his useful and glorious career.

† She was called madame de Witt. From his partiality for her, prince Potemkin gave the government of Kherfon to her husband. This did not prevent madame de Witt from committing some infidelities to prince Potemkin. Under pretence of going to see her mother, who was a poor tradeswoman at the seraglio, she went to Constantinople with the countess de Mnischew. Choiseul Gouffier gave her lodgings in the hotel de France. After the death of Potemkin, madame de Witt followed the fortune of Felix Potocky: and, at the solicitation of the countess Potocky, the empress caused her to be shut up in a convent.

prince Potemkin, and seemed likely to snatch him away from the crowd of beauties who were contending for his favours.

Long before her departure from Petersburg, the empress had sent major Sergius to Constantinople, for the purpose of announcing to the divan her intention of coming into the Krimea. Although he endeavoured to soften the communication by declaring, that some necessary internal regulations were the only objects of his sovereign in this visit to a part of her subjects, they remembered the late menace of prince Potemkin, that he would march at the head of an army of seventy thousand men to the frontiers, and that the empress would attend in person to enforce her claims, and to settle all differences between the two empires; and this, under the circumstances and impressions which we have mentioned, could not fail to increase their mixed indignation and alarm. The divan shewed strong symptoms of uneasiness at it: they almost considered this journey as an aggression. They took measures to repel it: and while the empress was at Kherfon, four turkish ships of the line came and anchored at the mouth of the Borysthenes. These ships were neither inclined, nor, had they been so, were they able to make any successful attempt; but the very sight of them caused disturbance to Catharine. She beheld them with scorn, and could not turn away her eyes from them.—“Do you see?” said she to her courtiers,

courtiers, "one would suppose that the Turks had no recollection of Tschesmé!"

Joseph II. received at Kherfon the first news of the rebellion that had broke out in Brabant. Some persons exhorted him to repair immediately to Brussels, and to act with great moderation, as the best means of appeasing an irritated people. That prince made no discovery of the measures he intended to pursue, nor did he take the road to his dominions. On the contrary, he followed the empress, who set out on a journey to visit the inland parts of the Krimea.

The empress was received in that peninsula by the principal myrzas, whose troops made various evolutions in her presence. All at once the carriages were surrounded by a thousand Tartars, who attended them as an escort. Joseph II. who had not been apprised of what was to happen, expressed some uneasiness; but the empress preserved her usual tranquillity. These Tartars had been placed there by prince Potemkin. They had certainly no sinister design; and if they had, they never would have dared to put it in execution: being well aware, that Potemkin had, not far from the place, an army of one hundred and fifty-three thousand men.

Catharine made her entry with great pomp into Bachtshifarai, and lodged, together with her suite, in the palace of the khan. In the evening she was entertained with the spectacle of a mountain

tain artificially illuminated, in such a manner as to seem as if all on fire. Wherever she went, every exertion was made to present her with some agreeable object; and she employed every means in gaining the affections of the people. She allotted funds for building two mosques. She distributed considerable presents among the myrzas. The myrzas testified the most ardent devotion towards her; and six weeks afterwards they declared in behalf of the Turks.

On her way back, the empress was conducted to Pultava. On her reaching that place, two armies appeared. They approached; they engaged; and gave Catharine an exact representation of the famous battle in which Charles XII. was completely routed by Peter the Great.

This spectacle was worthy of prince Potemkin, and of the two sovereigns to whom he gave it. Catharine on this occasion, said to some of the courtiers who pointed out a fault committed by the Swedes: "Here we may see on what a small matter the fate of empires depends. Had it not been for this fault we should not be here."

Joseph II. on whom the very name of a warrior made a lively impression, could not refrain from deploring the misfortune of the swedish monarch. He was nevertheless extremely delighted with all that was done both by Potemkin and the empress; and was so captivated by the behaviour of Catharine, that he expressed his inclination to assist her
in

in causing her grandson to be crowned at Constantinople.

The emperor, however, could not help testifying his surprise at the extraordinary complaisance the empress shewed to Momonof. The favourite at times would strangely exhibit his influence; and his vanity seemed to be flattered in being able to give illustrious witnesses to his puerile triumphs *.

At Mosco Joseph II. took leave of the empress; and, rapidly crossing Poland, returned to his dominions, while that princess pursued the road to Petersburg †.

The unfortunate khan, Sahim-Gueray, was not in the Krimea when the empress visited that peninsula. After having divested him of his power, Potemkin retained him for some time with him at Kherfon; where that imprudent Tartar wore the uniform of general of the préobajenikoi guards, and was decorated with the ribbon of a russian

* It is the custom in Russia, when playing at whist, instead of markers, to use pieces of chalk in a little case of silver or ivory, with which the amount of the game is scored in figures on the green cloth. Momonof was every day of the empress's party: and, having some knowledge of drawing, he sometimes took the chalk, and amused himself with making caricatures on the table, while the sovereign, with the cards in her hand, condescendingly waited till he had finished his scrawl, to proceed in her play.

* She arrived there the latter end of July: her journey having lasted six months and four days.

order. He was afterwards sent to Kaluga; his pension was stopped, himself left in the most extreme destitution; and he was obliged to abandon his native country, to throw himself into the arms of the Turks, whom he might have regarded as his most mortal enemies, if the Russians had not been so.

He first retired into Moldavia, where a capigi-bachi and the hospodar long advised him in vain to repair to Constantinople. Colonel de Witt *, then commander of the fortress of Kaminiek, and obsequiously devoted to prince Potemkin, united his solicitations with those of the capigi-bachi. But Sahim-Gueray still held out. He doubtless foresaw the fatal lot that awaited him.

In short, his person was seized, and he was transported to the isle of Rhodes. There Sahim-Gueray took refuge in the house of the french consul †, of whom the Turks immediately demanded his surrender. The consul, thinking that they would not dare to violate his asylum, generously refused to give up the man who had put himself under his protection: but they threatened to set fire to his house; and, seizing the opportunity his momentary absence gave them, they tore down the arms of France from over the gate, which they went and placed against a neighbouring house, and strangled the unfortunate khan.

* The husband of madame de Witt before mentioned.

† The name of the consul was Mille.

As these assassins did not pretend to have any commission or order from the porte for the perpetration of this deed, and did not appear like the usual ministers of justice, it seems probable that they were actuated merely by the rage of enthusiasm, as thinking him a necessary sacrifice to the mischiefs which he had brought upon his country and religion. Thus it was that the Turks took vengeance on this prince for his defection, and that the Russians rewarded him for having ceded to them his dominions.

Some time previous to the departure of the empress for the Crimea, Bakunin, the minister of the department of foreign affairs, and at first in the highest degree of favour, received orders to travel. Bezborodko * was desirous of placing
Arcadius

* The ministers, properly speaking, are the heads of the principal departments or colleges, and especially those of the college of foreign affairs. The chief, or the vice-chancellor, (the post of chancellor being vacant since the death of count Michael Vorontzof) may be considered as prime minister. Count Ostermann, a man not at all above the ordinary stamp, filled this post, and his father had it before him: he who held it under the empress Anne was involved in the disgrace of marshal count Munich, and did not bear his reverse of fortune with so much fortitude as the marshal. The second of the same college was M. Bezborodko, looked upon as a very laborious statesman; and his rapid rise would be almost incredible in any other country. Not twenty years ago he was secretary to Marshal Romantzof. His chief talent consisted in a thorough knowledge of his native language, which he wrote

Arcadius Markof at Petersburg. Nothing farther was necessary for procuring the banishment of Bakunin. But whether he was unable to resist the chagrin he experienced from losing his place, or whether it was some other cause that accelerated the period of his life, Bakunin had not an opportunity to carry the secrets of the government into foreign countries: he died almost suddenly.

Markof was then recalled from Stockholm, and put in the place of Bakunin; while Andrew Razumofsky, whose talents and courage procured him the esteem of Catharine, was transferred from Denmark to Sweden.

wrote in a pure style; a talent extremely rare among the Russians, and which alone has made the fortune of numbers. The empress reposed great confidence in count Bezborodko; employing him to terminate the negotiations interrupted by the death of prince Potemkin, and gave him the title of prince. It was at that time reported, that he intended shortly to retire, though still in the prime of life, and capable of service for many years to come. A considerable income, a taste for pleasure, and the love of independence, all together seemed to give room to think that he would willingly submit to the efforts of a powerful cabal directed against him, and retire to Mosco, peaceably to enjoy his opulence: however, this retirement never took place, and the czar Paul reposed as much confidence in him as his mother had done before. Bezborodko died at Petersburg in the beginning of the year 1799.

Markof, the son of a russian peasant *, acting at first in capacity of secretary to prince Gallitzin, minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, had accompanied prince Repnin to the congress of Teschen, and was afterwards sent to Paris, where he received orders from the empress to go into Sweden. Being active and artful, he suited Bezborodko, especially as there was a great similarity in their pursuits of pleasure. Accordingly, a great intimacy soon sprung up between them, which the latter had afterwards some reason to repent †.

However,

* M. Markof followed next to count Bezborodko in the same college. He passed for the most sagacious of the three; which was not saying a great deal. However, it must be owned, that both his talents and attainments are of rather a superior cast; and he might have aspired to the foremost places while the empress lived, and which he would have filled as well as any other person; always supposing that he were to have no other competitors than the people then about the court.

† He was removed from his post by the present emperor Paul, soon after his accession to the throne.—The ministerial functions never prevented him from attending to the promotion of the arts: while minister at Stockholm, a french actress appeared to him worthy of shining on the stage of Petersburg; and he conceived it not incompatible with his dignity to take charge of this modern Melpomene. Perhaps it might have been as well to have first obtained the consent of the managers of the theatre at Stockholm: but having only in view the glory of his country, and the claim he should acquire on its gratitude,

However, prince Potemkin wished, at all events, to induce the Turks to commence hostilities. Independently of the hope of again dismembering the ottoman empire, he was desirous of war from a private motive, — a motive which rendered it necessary to him. Though in a manner burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and crosses of knighthood, he still wished to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. For the obtaining of this, he must have the command of an army, gain a victory, and consequently cause the death of a multitude of soldiers. But, in the sight of the ambitious, what are the lives of several thousands of men in comparison of an ornament that flatters their pride !

Bulgakof, minister of Russia at Constantinople, had been at Kherfon, to inform the empress of his secret operations, and of the dispositions of the divan. That minister had formed corresponden-

gratitude, by procuring to the imperial residence of the russian empire so exchanting a subject, may be admitted as an excuse for this piece of neglect. Madame Hufs, on her part, resolved not to be ungrateful towards the man to whom she was indebted for figuring in one of the first theatres in the world; she never quitted him, lodged at his house, and allowed him not to recreate himself, after the painful business of the ministry, any where but with her. Madame Hufs is certainly an incomparable actress, by the confession of many persons who have frequented the theatres of London, as well as that of Peteriburg.

cies in *Ægypt*, by means of baron Tholus, consul-general of Russia at Alexandria. Another consul which Russia kept at Smyrna, named Peter Ferrieri, engaged in all the intrigues of which a presumptuous Italian is capable. A third endeavoured to foment insurrections in Moldavia. The russian ships made a licentious use of the numerous privileges which had been granted them by the porte; and the court of Petersburg perpetually gave countenance to this violation of treaties.

The porte, discontented at this conduct, and irritated at the discovery of a correspondence between Ibrahim-bey, one of the rulers of Cairo, and the russian minister, gave orders to the capudan-pasha to go and quell the disturbances in *Ægypt*. Within a few days afterwards, the grand vizir and the reis effendi demanded a conference * of the minister, at which they delivered to him a memorial succinctly drawn up, to which they requested him to give an immediate answer. This memorial stated :

“ That experience having shewn that the
“ russian consul in Moldavia was a restless and
“ turbulent man, who employed all sorts of
“ means to disturb the peace of the two empires,
“ the grand signior insisted that he should leave
“ his dominions without delay.

* The 26th of July.

“ That

“ That the troubles which had now for two
“ years been raging in Georgia, being evidently
“ the effect of the protection which the empress
“ had granted to prince Heraclius, against the
“ spirit of the treaties subsisting, it was but just
“ that the russian troops should quit Teflis, and
“ retire so far from that kingdom, as was requi-
“ site to the restoration of tranquillity.

“ That the russian vessels which passed before
“ Constantinople having always contraband mer-
“ chandize on board, his sublime highness re-
“ quired, that all these vessels should be visited
“ without exception.

“ That the Sublime Porte being assured that
“ prince Alexander Mauro-Cordato *, who had
“ fled

* Mauro-Cordato, the hospodar of Moldavia, had long been, with reason, suspected of treachery, and the porte was well informed of his carrying on a secret correspondence, through the medium of the russian consul, with both the imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg. Although this conduct had hitherto been passed over without apparent notice, it was now thought necessary, upon the approaching season of trial, not only to deprive him of the means of future mischief, but to punish his past treachery. The porte did not act with its usual promptness of decision upon this occasion; for he was stripped of his office, without securing his person, two days before the order arrived for his head. The wary Greek, well seeing his danger, profited of the neglect, and, under pretence of an airing, accompanied by a party of trusty friends, finely mounted, and all perhaps involved in it, escaped from Yassy, and arrived safely in the russian territories. The porte reclaimed

“ fled from Yassy at the beginning of February,
“ had found an asylum in Russia, it demanded
“ that this prince should be abandoned.

“ That the Russians must furnish the inhabit-
“ ants of Otchakof with a greater quantity of salt
“ than they have hitherto done.

“ That, lastly, the grand signior demanded a
“ power to appoint, in the Russian dominions,
“ agents to protect the commerce of his sub-
“ jects.”

For answering this memorial, Bulgakof requested time to consult his court. This was readily granted; but the divan soon met again, and resolved that it was needless to wait for the answer from Petersburg. War was declared in Constantinople, and Bulgakof shut up in the castle of seven towers *.

The manifesto, which was upon this occasion presented to the ministers of the Christian powers resident at Constantinople, contained much of the matter which had appeared in the grand signior's

reclaimed its subject and offending servant, to be delivered up according to the terms of the subsisting treaties, which had fully bound both parties in all such cases. But the Russians not only peremptorily rejected the demand; but the removal of Cordato from his office, the design upon his life, and the application for his delivery, were ranked with the many other injuries charged against the Ottomans, and held out either as sufficient grounds for a war, or as instances of the greatest forbearance. Mauro-Cordato has since vegetated at Kherfon.

* The 18th of August.

appeal to his own subjects and religion ; excepting only that it was held forth in a bolder and loftier tone, and abstained from any expressions implying weakness or apprehension. It stated the good faith, and the strict attention to the terms of the treaty of Kainardgi, which the grand sultan had since that time uniformly observed ; and placed in opposition to this conduct the continued violation of the most solemn stipulations, whether of more antient or modern date, which Russia had committed during that period. In the enumeration of the various instances in which this violation had taken place, their instigating the prince of Georgia to rebellion, and their sending troops to support him against his sovereign, were particularly displayed : as likewise, their depriving the inhabitants of Otchakof of the benefit of the salt mines, which had not only from time immemorial been open to them, but which were expressly stipulated by treaty to be held in common by both nations : their corrupting, through the agency of their consuls, the voivode of Moldavia, and when he fled from justice, and was reclaimed by his sovereign according to the stipulations established on both sides by treaty, their minister at the porte had the hardness peremptorily to answer, “ that his court would not surrender him :” her placing consuls in various places where they were totally unnecessary, with a view to corrupt the subjects of the porte from their duty and allegiance,

giance, exciting dissensions even among the true believers, seducing some to enter into her service, and enticing others by civil employments to settle in her dominions; together with her constant interference in the internal policy of the empire, and presuming to dictate to the porte; insomuch, that when the pashas, governors, or judges, have, by a faithful discharge of their duty, displeased her, she has arrogantly demanded their removal or punishment.

The complaints on the subject of commerce were not less numerous. Upon the whole, the sum of injury and insult of which the porte complained, appeared from this piece to have been great indeed, although the particulars are by no means stated to advantage.

The internuncio * of the court of Vienna, and the ambassador of France †, united their efforts with the divan to obtain the release of Bulgakof. All their endeavours were fruitless. The minister of Great Britain had at that time more influence than they, and entered warmly into the resentment of his court, which had beheld with a jealous eye the empire of Russia forming a treaty of commerce with France.

The Turks began to make preparations for war with the greatest alacrity. They ordered eighty thousand men to march to cover Otchakof. Dis-

* Baron von Herbert.

† M. de Choiseul-Gouffier.

patches were forwarded to every part of the empire to prepare for war. A formidable army advanced to the shores of the Danube; and the grand vizir was in readiness to unfurl the standard of Mohammed at the head of the ottoman troops.

The people had been outrageous with government for its supineness, in suffering the empress to prosecute her journey to Kherfon; indeed all Europe was surpris'd at the forbearance of the porte, if war was determin'd, in not obstructing that boasted and insulting progress, or, in fact, vain-glorious triumph.

The sultan, in order to increase the opinion and reverence of the people for his minister, and the confidence of the army in his abilities, as well as to enable him to provide instantly for any sudden exigencies that might occur, and to conduct the various operations of the war with greater dispatch and effect, entrusted the grand vizir with such dictatorial powers as no jealous potentate would have ventured in any hands but his own. These were committed to him in full divan, and authenticated by a written decree pass'd in all the forms of state; after which, the decree was proclaimed, and read aloud in the most public places, commanding all the subjects of the empire, of whatever rank or condition, to obey the grand vizir implicitly in all things, as they would the emperor himself. This demonstration of confidence in the minister was every where received
by

by the people with the strongest marks of approbation and joy. Upon the same principle, and as an invigorating encouragement to his zeal and exertion, the sultan sent that commander a gold-hilted sabre highly enriched with diamonds; this magnificent present being accompanied by a set of instructions in his own hand, for his government in the conduct of the war. In this sensible well-constructed piece, the emperor strongly exhorts his minister and general, constantly to maintain a close union and intimate correspondence with the different pashas and governors, as well as with the commanders in actual service; and to use all possible means for diminishing the enormous quantity of baggage, and the inordinate number of domestics, which so fatally impede the motion of the troops, and clog the operations of the turkish armies.

The return of the capudan-pasha from the Archipelago in the beginning of December, diffused great joy at Constantinople, and restored the spirits of the people, which began to flag through the late disappointments. Nor was his arrival a matter of less satisfaction to the grand vizir, nor to the emperor himself, who is said literally to have received him with open arms. The war had been declared in his absence, and, as he had before given his opinion of its being premature and dangerous at the present time, while the union subsisted so closely between the
two

two christian empires, it was a matter of apprehension whether he would engage heartily in the support of a measure of which he had not approved. The veteran, however, soon put an end to all doubts upon the subject, by gallantly making, in a truly martial speech to the emperor, an unreserved tender of his utmost services in endeavouring to restore the tarnished honour of the ottoman arms. He declared, that though grown grey in the service of his country, he still felt himself strong and vigorous, and that there was nothing upon earth he wished for so passionately, as to close his life with the glorious act of driving the perfidious infidels out of their fraudulent usurpations in the Krimea and on the Euxine, of replacing the ruined nations of Tartars and other mussulmans in their ancient possessions, and of restoring the khan to the seat of his illustrious ancestors, of which, in contempt of all laws, human and divine, he had been so cruelly despoiled.

Nothing could exceed the pleasure which this speech afforded, nor the confidence and admiration of the man which it excited in the grand signior; as the first demonstration of which, he immediately appointed him grand admiral of the fleet, and generalissimo of all the armies to be employed on the Euxine.

A squadron of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and several gallies, entered the Euxine
under

under the command of the capudan-pasha Gazi-Hassan.

The old admiral was just then returned from Ægypt, where he had subdued the rebellious beys Ibrahim and Amurath*, and collected a tribute of more than twelve millions of piastres. But he was still humble under all this success. He even now recollected with grief the disasters of Tschesimè†; and previous to his departure for the Krimea, he called together the principal officers of his fleet, and made them the following speech:

“ You know whence I am come, and what I
 “ have atchieved. A new field of honour in-
 “ vites me, as well as you, to devote the last fight
 “ to the honour of our faith, to the service of the
 “ sultan and the invincible nation, who, in the
 “ present situation of affairs, demand the last
 “ drop of our blood. — It is in order to fulfil
 “ this sacred duty, that I now part from those
 “ of my family that are dearest to me. I have
 “ granted liberty to all my slaves of both sexes;
 “ I have paid them all that I owed them; and I
 “ have rewarded them according to their deserts.
 “ I have bid my last adieus to my wife; and I

* These were the two beys who were routed by general Bonaparte on his arrival in Ægypt.

† It has been seen before that at Tschesimè, Gazi-Hassan was only captain of the admiral's ship.

“ am going in quest of battles, in the firm reso-
“ lution either to conquer or to die. If ever I
“ return, it will be by the signal favour of
“ heaven. If I am desirous that my days should
“ be prolonged, it is only that they may be ter-
“ minated with glory. Such is my immoveable
“ resolution.”

“ You who have ever been my faithful com-
“ panions, I have called you together to exhort
“ you to follow my example in this decisive con-
“ juncture. If there be any one of you who feels
“ not the courage to be willing to die in the glo-
“ rious conflict, let him declare it freely. He
“ shall find favour before me, and shall imme-
“ diately receive his dismissal. Those, on the
“ other hand, who shall be wanting in courage
“ to execute my orders in battle, must not pre-
“ tend to find and excuse in contrary winds and
“ the disobedience of their crews; for I swear by
“ Mohammed and by the life of the sultan, that
“ I will have their heads cut off, and the heads
“ of their crews. But he who shall display
“ courage, and perform his duty, shall be li-
“ berally rewarded. Let all those who are willing
“ to follow me on these conditions, rise up then,
“ and swear to obey me faithfully.”

At these words all the commanders having risen,
swore to conquer or die with their grand admiral.

“ Yes,” exclaimed he, “ I acknowledge you all
“ as my brave and faithful companions! Go, re-

“ turn

“ turn to your ships. Call your crews upon
“ deck. Communicate to them my speech;
“ receive their oath, and keep in readiness for
“ sailing to-morrow.”

The Turks, suspecting the fidelity of the Greeks, disarmed them all : at the same time publishing a manifesto to invite the Tartars to return to their allegiance to the grand signior. That people regretted the loss of their former masters, and detested their new ones. In vain did the empress load them with presents ; in vain had she caused the koran to be printed *, and mosques to be built ; they saw in her only the christian, and in their heart preferred to her a mussulman prince. The myrzas then met and elected for their khan shah Par-Gueray, who soon beheld under his orders an army of forty thousand men.

At Petersburg the news of the war was received with transports of joy. It had long been foreseen by the empress ; and she expected it with impatience. All her preparations were made. She had already a great force in the Kuban ; and detachments of her armies were on their march to the Krim. The whole face of the country, from Kaminiek to Balta, was covered with her troops. Prince Potemkin, commander in chief of all these forces, had under his orders Suvarof, Repnin,

* The empress had the koran or kour'ann printed at Petersburg, for the use of the inhabitants of Taurida.

Kamenskoi, Kakofsky, and a number of other generals. Marshal Romantzof, unwilling to be an instrument to the glory of Potemkin, excused himself on account of his great age, and refused the command, of which some remains of a forced respect had procured him the offer *. One of his sons went and joined the army.

A fleet of eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, and near two hundred chebeks or gun-boats, was equipped in the Euxine; and two strong squadrons under the command of Admiral Kruse and admiral Greig, were in readiness at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean.

By the alliance of Joseph II. the empress was secure of another powerful support, as that prince was no less desirous than herself of a war with the Turks. Eighty thousand Austrians were on their march to Moldavia: in a word, all seemed to announce the approaching overthrow of the ottoman empire.

Catharine, in the mean time, dissembling both her sentiments and her designs, published a manifesto, in which she reproached the Turks with the infraction of the treaties which had been violated only by herself. It was long, and conceived in a lofty spirit, such as might seem, in the eyes of

* Marshal Romantzof had at first accepted the command of the army on a par with Potemkin; but, on perceiving that he was to be in some sort subordinate to his rival, he requested leave to retire.

an impartial judge, more calculated to celebrate the triumphs and conquests of the last war, to display the fallen state of the porte, lying at the mercy of her conquering armies, together with the clemency and generosity with which she restored her numerous conquests by the treaty of Kainardgi, than to justify, or to impress the public with ideas of the equity of her conduct and proceedings during the peace. The Turks are, however, charged with the blackest perfidy in every transaction. These charges are supported and enforced throughout with abundant imputations of falsehood, treachery, contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a disregard to the sanctity of oaths, which are all charged upon the Ottomans, as if vices inherent in their nature : and, after a long enumeration of the pretended wrongs committed by the porte, she added :

“ That, provoked by so offensive a conduct,
“ she had, much against her will, been obliged
“ to have recourse to arms, as the only means
“ left her for asserting the rights which she had
“ acquired at the price of so much blood, and
“ to avenge the dignity of her crown, injured by
“ the violence that had been used towards her
“ minister at Constantinople ; that, perfectly in-
“ nocent of all the calamities inevitably engen-
“ dered by war, she had a right to rely, not
“ only on the providence of God and the assist-
“ ance of her allies, but on the devout aspira-
“ tions

“ tions of the christian world, for the triumph
 “ of a cause so just as that which she was forced
 “ to maintain.”

This manifesto was soon followed by a second, which declared :—“ That the port had had the
 “ arrogance to insist on a categorical answer to
 “ its absurd demands ; and that the empress,
 “ forced to repel the aggression of the enemy of
 “ the christian name, armed herself with confidence under the protection of that righteous
 “ God who had so long and so powerfully protected the russian empire.”

In support of these memorials by which Catharine was moving heaven and earth against the Ottomans, means were employed still more adapted to the superstition of the Russians ; papers were dispersed emphatically publishing the prophecies of the patriarchs Jeremiah and Nicon *, predicting the speedy ruin of Constantinople. This was at the same time an indirect manner of combating the formidable prophet the bey or sheik Manshour †, who again made his appearance, and, affirming

* Nicon, raised to the patriarchal dignity in 1552, changed the ancient liturgy of the greek church.

† After the family of Gueray, descended from Tschinghis-khan, that of Manshour is one of the four principal ones of the Crimea. The three others are those of Scherin, of Barin, and of Sigevout. Such as are sprung from either of these four families bear the title of bey, which signifies prince. Those of the family of Gueray have the title of sultan.

that an angel had appeared to him in the midst of a wood, had been able to collect an army, and to raise against the Russians all the hordes of mount Caucasus.

It might have been supposed that the former demonstration of the inefficacy of his assumed supernatural powers and celestial aids, when opposed to Russian arms and discipline, had left behind such sore remembrancers of the failure and imposition, as could not but effectually cure the enthusiasm of his followers: but the sheik, in whatever other qualities he might be deficient, possessed a large natural stock of courage, and it is possible that the people considered his valour more than his piety, in choosing him their leader.

However this might be, the sheik being supported by some small neighbouring tribes of Tartars, and by such Turks as were scattered amongst them, he entered the Russians new frontiers at the head of about eight thousand men, without seeming, from any thing that appears, to consider, or to make much inquiry, what force he had to encounter. It is however to be remembered, that in regions where the race of man are so thinly scattered as in the present scene of action, the difficulty of intelligence must necessarily be great: it is likewise to be observed, that although the boundless wastes of these flat countries, which scarcely have any other marks of division than a few great rivers, renders them exceedingly

ceedingly favourable to predatory excursion, yet the same properties expose the invader to a continual danger, against which no foresight can at all times provide, that of being suddenly surprized by a superior, and supposed distant enemy.

Prince Potemkin was in person at the head of the russian army, which he immediately divided into four columns, one of which led by himself, as well as the others, but all pursuing different routs, advanced expeditiously upon the enemy. If it were possible to draw any scheme of design from those military details which were occasionally published by the court of Petersburg, or to reason upon them, it would be supposed that the object of this division and march of the army was to enclose the enemy on all sides, so that not a man could escape. Yet this was not done, nor, from what was seen, attempted, although the passage of two or three rivers seem the only obstacles which the troops had to encounter on their march. Re-binder's column, however, came singly in sight of the enemy *. They found the sheik himself, with about six hundred Tartars, separated from the rest, and entrenched behind their waggon. These, upon the approach of the Russians, repeated aloud a short prayer dictated by their prophet, which, with the desperate courage they displayed in defence of their entrenchments, seemed

* The 1st of October.

to indicate that the spirit of enthusiasm was not yet extinct. It was, however, impossible that their courage could be of any avail; the trenches were carried; and we may judge of the defence, when, out of so small a number, four hundred were left dead upon the spot.

The sheik was so far from sinking under this misfortune, that, having collected all the troops within reach during the night, he boldly returned to the charge next day, and, without regard to their artillery, had the hardiness to attack the russian camp. This mode was not likely to be successful, with such troops as he commanded, and such arms as they possessed. They were accordingly repulsed; the carabineers of Rosten, the dragoons of Astrakhan, and a battalion of grenadiers, carrying off the chief honours of the day. It seemed rather singular in this encounter, that the Tartars should have hoped, by a feigned flight, to draw an enemy, so far their superior in the art of war, into an ambuscade. It is certainly a curious, though by no means a pleasing spectacle, to behold the vigorous, though ineffectual struggles of brave men, against a vast superiority of power, arms, and discipline.

Nor was the contest yet ended; and it seemed as if courage would rise superior to disaster, or perish in the attempt. The tartars being reinforced, a third action took place, in which major general prince Radischef, at the head probably of
another

another column, gained a complete victory. After this success, the sheik's habitation, and all the Tartar villages within reach, were plundered, and destroyed by fire. Ten thousand pints of butter, and a large quantity of barley, were the rural spoil made upon this occasion: the cattle had probably been driven to a safe distance; and money, valuable furniture, or merchandize, were articles not to be looked for in these regions. Such was the issue of the sheik Manshour's second adventure in war.

The Lesghis were likewise said to have received a great defeat from the Russians, about this time, somewhere on the side of Georgia.

Some enterprizes which were undertaken by the Turks against the island of Taman, and the Crimea, were attended with as little success as the attempts of the Tartars.

Next to the defeat or destruction of the Russian fleet, no object, on that side, could be so interesting to the Porte as the recovery of Kinburne. For this fortress being situated directly opposite to Otchakof, from which it is separated only by the mouth of the Dniepr, where, united with the waters of the Bogue, it falls into the Euxine, this vicinity not only exposed the latter continually to the danger of a surprise, but being likewise a station for the Russian fleets, as well as a great naval and military arsenal, it was at all

times pregnant with the means of war on both elements.

Through some fatality, probably the want of a due subordination being established among the commanders, such dissensions broke out in this fleet, as served totally to overthrow every design of the expedition. From whatever it proceeded, nothing could have been more unfortunate at the opening of a war, nor more ruinous than it proved in its subsequent consequences. Hassan-bey, after spending a few days fruitlessly at Otchakof, returned without making any attempt upon Kinburne, and, so far as appeared, without any endeavour to fall in with the russian fleet on his return. Nothing could exceed the rage and clamour of the people, nor the disappointment and indignation of the Porte, upon his bringing the news of his own misfortune and disgrace to Constantinople. The unfortunate vice-admiral who commanded the expedition, was probably deemed a necessary victim to the first, and perhaps an indispensable example of rigour at the commencement of a war. Thus, through the weak and cruel maxims of the turkish policy, was an excellent officer lost to the state, at a time when his services were likely to be more wanted than at any former period of its existence; whereas, a proper inquiry into the causes of the miscarriage, with a moderate reproof, if any was due,

to

to the commander, might have stimulated him to the noblest actions.

In the mean time, the brave garrison of Otchakof, notwithstanding their being deserted by the fleet and army, were incessant in their endeavours, and shewed an extraordinary, but ill-judged and misapplied degree of enterprize and valour, in their efforts to recover Kinburne; either by surprise, which could scarcely be expected to succeed, or by mere force of hand, which was still more impracticable. They were accordingly repulsed with loss in the two first attempts, but the third proved fatal. The garrison of Kinburne had been considerably reinforced, when five thousand Turks, possibly ignorant of the circumstance, having crossed the river from Otchakof, made a fierce attack on the fortress before day. The garrison had been too lately alarmed to be now surprised, and maintained their posts well while the darkness continued; but as soon as day-light appeared, they quitted the defensive, and sallying from different gates nearly inclosed the enemy, whom they attacked with great courage on at least three sides. A desperate action ensued, in which the Turks, being undoubtedly dismayed at the unusual danger and hopelessness of their situation, were routed: after which the fight was changed to an absolute slaughter; for, what with the grounding and
other

other casualties, in such a hurry, which beset many of the boats; what with the eager pursuit of the enemy, and, above all, the general blindness and confusion which terror produced, not above a thousand of the whole party are said to have escaped. A slaughter so vast, and so totally disproportioned to the number engaged, seems indeed, rather difficult of belief; but the situation and circumstances of the assailants were unusually perilous. The circumstance of the two russian generals, Beck and Suvarof, being severely wounded, seems to indicate that this action was not entirely bloodless to the victors. *Te Deum* was now sung with the highest pomp in all the churches at Petersburg upon this occasion, and the public rejoicings were such as might have been expected for the greatest victory.

The empress earnestly solicited the ambassador of France to engage his court to join her for the dismemberment of the ottoman empire. In return for this service, she offered to cede to France the possession of *Ægypt**, of the conquest of which she

* Great quantities of sugar of an exceedingly good grain are produced in *Ægypt*; and if that country were under a better government, it might supply Europe to a very large amount. In Candia too and in Sicily the cane thrives well; where nothing is wanting but more industry in the inhabitants, and some enterprising people of capital, for rendering this product

she thought herself secure *. But the ambassador was averse from trusting to the specious bait. He knew that if Turkey was to be partitioned, Ægypt would be less desirable to the French than the isle of Candia. He knew, that though it would be advantageous for France to have a treaty of commerce with the Russians, it was greatly more to her interest to prevent the demolition of the Turks, with whom she was engaged in a more safe, more

product an article of vast importance. This observation likewise may be applied to a large extent of the coast of Barbary. Ægypt abounds in coffee-trees, and produces excellent hemp and flax. The French might willingly abandon their West India islands, were they once possessed of Ægypt.

Terra suis contenta bonis; non indiga mercis

Aut jovis: in solo tanta est fiducia Nilo.

* The chief force of Ægypt consists in about eight thousand horse; for the janissaries are by no means to be reckoned as soldiers. The Pharos of Alexandria, which, according to the regulations, ought to be garrisoned by five hundred janissaries, has never half that number, and not more than four cannons for its defence. The whole of the fortifications might easily be beat down by a single frigate; and the greatest difficulty a foreign army would have to encounter in maintaining possession of Alexandria, would be the want of water; that city having none but what is conducted by canals into their reservoirs at the time of the overflowing of the Nile; it would therefore be necessary to conquer the whole country, at least as far as the banks of that river. The revenues of the beys are raised by a land-tax and the produce of the customs, amounting together to near two millions sterling, of which but a small proportion reaches the coffers of the porte.

lucrative,

lucrative, and more convenient commerce. In short, he knew that the inefficient government of Constantinople could never, like that of Petersburg, threaten to disarrange the equilibrium of Europe. Besides, what right had Catharine to reckon on the submission of *Ægypt*? Her consul general Tholus, it is true, maintained several under-hand correspondencies there; he had secured the beys Ibrahim and Amurath in his interest; but the temptations which he threw out to another bey, named Ismaël, were not attended with the same success. Ismaël caused him to be arrested, and sent him to the pasha of Cairo, who detained him prisoner*.

A circumstance which happened soon after the opening of the war, though in itself of little consequence, occasioned great joy at Constantinople, from its being considered as an indication of future success, and that fortune had again begun to look favourably upon the crescent:—the russian fleet having, in the month of September, been scat-

* The ambassador added; that the French had it always in their power either to seize on *Ægypt*, or to make such an alliance with the beys as would open to them a communication with India; that the beys would eagerly embrace any offer that promised to secure them a perfect independence on the ottoman porte; nay, would even become tributary to any other state, who would maintain them in their separate governments, protecting each of them against the others, and the entire country from the oppressions and resentment of the Turks.

tered and greatly injured by a violent tempest on the Euxine, and having no port on the asiatic side to afford them shelter, the Borysthenes, of sixty-four guns, being nearly dismasted, and otherwise in great distress, was driven by night into the canal of Constantinople; having passed so many of the forts in the dark, that her escape, when she discovered her situation, would have been impossible, had she even been in better condition for making the attempt. It may well be supposed that nothing could exceed the astonishment of the people, when day-light disclosed to them so novel a sight, and one so well calculated to excite a popular and enthusiastic joy. They were, however, probably equalled on the other side, by the grief and dismay of the russian captain; who, perceiving himself inextricably involved, adopted the desperate resolution of blowing up the ship in the face of the city and harbour: but the crew, preferring the smaller evil of imprisonment, instantly seized his person, and held him in durance until they were boarded by the turkish boats. About six hundred and fifty Russians were made prisoners. The ship had been so exceeding sickly as to lose one hundred and fifty men in that short cruise.

In her endeavours to incite the christian princes to arm against the Turks, Catharine surely never supposed that they would second her in all her ambitious schemes, or that they would remain at least calm spectators of her triumphs. She was
not

not ignorant that England was instigating the porte to go to war, and was sending it supplies : and that Prussia would not patiently suffer either the aggrandisement of Russia or the house of Austria. But what the empress did not foresee, was the resolution of Gustavus III. to declare war against her immediately.

1788. It was during the progress of these hostilities with the porte, that Russia thus found herself suddenly involved in a new and unexpected war ; the possibility and consequences of which were certainly not taken into account, in her original calculations of conquest and schemes of aggrandisement. For though the world, as well as themselves, had long known the distaste which prevailed between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm, and saw that public jealousies were by degrees ripened into personal dislike, and even an apparently fixed animosity between the sovereigns ; yet nobody imagined, or indeed believed, that, considering the prodigious disproportion of their power, Sweden could have ventured upon entering into a direct war with Russia.

The king of Sweden had spirit, perhaps it may hereafter be considered as sagacity and wisdom, to see things in a different point of view. He might have been taught (if all more remote history had been extinct) from the numerous examples afforded by his uncle, the hero and founder of the prussian empire, how to distinguish between
great

great difficulties and absolute impossibilities; he might likewise have learnt, from the same school of knowledge and experience, that there are certain critical situations, when it becomes wisdom, and is consonant to the strictest laws of calculation, to commit every thing to the hazard of a single great exertion, rather than to wait for that irretrievable state of things, when it would be impossible for any exertion to produce a single favourable cast.

As a nation, Sweden had the greatest causes of resentment against Russia for past injury and loss, at the same time that she had every thing to dread from her present overgrown power and boundless ambition, which was as little qualified in the wanton display, as it was ungoverned in the actual exertion. It was impossible to behold the rich province of Livonia, with the adjoining valuable ones of Esthonia, Ingria, and Carelia, besides a great part of Finland, in the hands of strangers and enemies, without the deepest regret; or could a Swedish patriot behold, without a degree of indignation equal to the regret, his countrymen perishing all round him for want of bread, while the first of these provinces could most abundantly have supplied their wants? These losses were embittered by the recollection of particular injuries and extraordinary cruelties. The savage war carried on by Peter the first (it may be said against human nature) in the bowels and lowest caverns
of

of the earth, for the destruction of the swedish copper and iron works, and rendering the ruin irretrievable, by breaking down the mounds that prevented the water from overflowing the mines, was, so far as human power and malice could apply, entailing misery and want through all generations upon a people, whose harvests and means of life were produced in those dark regions.

Yet, in defiance of these, seemingly incurable, national animosities, Russia had constantly found means to maintain a strong and numerous party in Sweden, who were ever ready to sacrifice the interests of their country to her selfish and dangerous views. This she accomplished by various means, by the common effect of power, in dazzling and subduing the weak and the timid; by her money, which could not fail to operate with great effect upon a very numerous, poor, and factious nobility; to this head may be referred the facility with which her vast military establishments enabled her to provide for all those, and even for their relations and friends, whose zeal for her service rendered them obnoxious to their country. The vicinity of Russia, too, with that overreaching affectation of friendship and good neighbourhood, under the covert of which she endeavoured to become a party in the affairs of all her neighbours, together with the common ties of language, religion, blood, and various other connections, subsisting between the subjugated swedish provinces,

vinces, and those still retained by that crown, afforded her continual opportunities of being minutely acquainted with the most secret affairs of that country, of knowing the exact state, views, and value of parties, and of knowing all those men who were the fittest for the purpose, and the most liable to be practised on, in order to make them proselytes to her views.

The great revolution in the government of Sweden, effected by the present king, tended greatly to lessen this sinister influence; but the evil was too deeply fixed to be soon eradicated, and the bold intriguing disposition of the russian ministers at Stockholm, who, presuming too much on the greatness of the power by which they were supported, disdained to submit to those nice regulations, which the wisdom of ages and nations have established as laws to govern the conduct of the diplomatic body during their mission in foreign courts. By this means a strong foreign faction, though seemingly cemented by constitutional principles, and looking only to domestic regulation and concerns, was constantly nursed and supported in the kingdom, who, directly inimical to the king, and to the new form of government, were no less so in effect, whether intentionally or not, to the real interests and security of their country.

That sudden and unforeseen revolution in the government of Sweden, was the source of all the

coolness, jealousy, and dislike, which had since taken place between the courts of Petersburg and Stockholm. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the views of Russia, or subversive of the policy which she had pursued during the greater part of the present century, than that Sweden should ever again recover her former rank among nations, or any part of that weight and influence which she once held in the political scale of Europe. A nominal king without power or effect, with a nation constantly rent and distracted by jarring factions, any of which she might occasionally support against the others, as best suited her immediate purposes, would, in process of time, afford her continual opportunities for interference and regulation, and such frequent pretences for sending armies into the country to support her decisions, that all the substantial benefits of conquest would thus be obtained, without the odium and jealousy ever inseparable from that term. Nor might it be entirely overlooked, that dependent kings, as well as dependent princes, would be necessary appendages to the splendor, as well as gratifications to the vanity, of an imperial court.

The revolution destroyed all schemes of this nature, however fondly entertained. It is now well known, that nothing less than the various calamities, occasioned by a long foreign war, a dangerous rebellion at home, and the cruel ravages

vages of the pestilence, all of which about that time afflicted Russia, could have prevented her from taking a direct and decisive part in overthrowing, as she had not time to prevent, the system of government then established by the king of Sweden. It was, however, still perhaps expected, that a young prince like Gustavus, feeling himself yet weak, and not fully assured in his new accession of power, would have gladly applied to his great, wise, and powerful neighbour, for her approbation and confirmation of it.

Every body, however, expected, that the visit which the king not long after paid to the court of Petersburg, would have amply atoned for this inattention or neglect, which might well be imputed to the giddy effect, that a sudden accession of power is ever liable to produce on a youthful and inexperienced mind. The king, however, suddenly departed from the court of Petersburg, it was said, without taking leave, while the expedition which he used in returning to his own dominions carried almost the appearance of precipitation; and from that period the breach between the two courts, instead of closing, had been continually growing wider.

It is stated, in a pamphlet said to have been written by himself on the situation of public affairs, that the king of Sweden had early endeavoured to avert the impending storm, by offering his mediation to reconcile the differences between Russia

and the porte; an office he was peculiarly qualified to succeed in, from the long-established friendship subsisting between Turkey and Sweden. The contemptuous scorn with which the proposal was received, and the disdainful manner in which it was rejected, seem to have been sensibly felt by the royal writer. A similar proposal made by Great Britain, supported by Prussia, was scarcely better received. To this pertinacious adherence to her ambitious designs, the king directly attributes the subsequent measures, which, he says, he was under a necessity of adopting on the principle of defence.

Since count Ostermann had quitted Stockholm, his successors * had faithfully imitated his conduct. But no one had distinguished himself so much by his boldness as count Andrew Razumofsky †. Jealous of regaining the favour of his sovereign,

* Mouschin-Pouskin, and afterwards Markof.

† Count Razumofsky, the russian minister at Stockholm, was deeply initiated in all the intrigues, designs, and political mysteries of his court; at the same time that he derived from nature and habit no small portion of that haughty and overbearing spirit, which marked her conduct in all transactions with her weaker neighbours. He is charged with even exceeding his predecessors, in the contempt with which he trampled upon the general laws of nations, with respect to the conduct prescribed to public ministers in their mission at foreign courts; with paying no regard even to outward appearances; and with carrying on his intrigues of seduction and corruption,

sovereign, that wiley minister was perpetually working to sow dissensions among the Swedish nobles, of whom the far greater part were discontented with their king, and were but too much inclined to listen to the insidious advice of the Russian.

Gustavus was an impatient spectator of these machinations; he saw with abhorrence the court of Russia giving honourable reception to general Sprengporten, who, after having assisted him himself to regain the authority over the senate of Sweden, thinking his recompences far short of his deserts, had quitted his country, in order to enter into the service of Russia, and was using every effort to raise an insurrection in Swedish Finland *.

The king of Sweden resolved to take his revenge. Before the Turks had declared war against Russia, Heideftam, his minister at Constantinople, had already received orders to conclude a treaty of alliance with them. The Turks recollected

corruption, in forming factions against the state, openly and too successfully, in the capital, and under the eye of the sovereign at whose court he resided.

* Sprengporten is of an antient Finnish family. On leaving Sweden he entered into the Dutch service, and shortly after into that of the Russians. At his instigation the Finns sent off a deputation to St. Petersburg, at the head of which was a gentleman named Yagerhorn, who foolishly asked for their sovereign prince Constantine Pavlovitch.

with awe the victories of Charles XII. They thought that a king of Sweden might make a powerful diversion in their favour. They promised Gustavus to grant him considerable subsidies, which in part were paid him on the spot. Besides, Prussia lent him money, and England promised him the assistance of a fleet. That prince therefore began to arm.

Being a witness to the preparations that were going forward at Stockholm, count Andrew Razumofsky haughtily asked to what end they were making. Gustavus, with still greater haughtiness, replied, that he was not accountable for his actions to any foreign power. It was somewhat extraordinary to see an ambassador disputing in the capital of Sweden the prerogatives of the Swedish monarch, and pretending to set bounds to his power. Gustavus, justly exasperated at this instance of presumption, ordered Razumofsky to depart from Stockholm. But the Russian found means, under various pretexts, to defer his departure for a considerable time.

Notwithstanding this, the preparations for war went on with the usual ardour. The fleet was equipping at Carlescrona; the troops to be embarked were gathering round the capital; others were on their march to Finland. It was artfully propagated that it was necessary to put the kingdom on its defence, as the court of Petersburg had threatened Sweden with an attack, unless

Gustavus

Gustavus would consent to furnish her with success against the Turks. The swedish soldiers burnt with desire to measure swords with a nation which their ancestors had so frequently vanquished. In a word, they were embarked, and the fleet which had them on board arrived in Finland, whither Gustavus was gone before.

The troops had scarcely set foot on the frontiers, than a small detachment of russian chaffeurs made a feint to dislodge a body of Swedes who defended a bridge. Some fire-arms * were even discharged on both sides, which Gustavus readily took for a signal of war. His orders were already given, and his squadron captured too russian frigates that were cruising off Sveaborg, for the purpose of exercising the marine cadets of Petersburg.

Gustavus resolved to march against Frederiksham; but, as they had not yet been able to get the heavy artillery on shore from on board the squadron of Carlescrona, he now conceived the design of attacking the town on two different sides at once, and take it by assault.

Terror and amazement took possession of every

* By the swedish constitution, the king cannot attack a foreign power, without the consent of the diet. — The Russians pretend, that Gustavus III. had disguised the boors of Finland as russian soldiers, and consequently caused his own subjects to be killed, in order to have a pretence for entering the russian territory.

breast at Petersburg. All the russian soldiery had been sent off against the Turks. At the first moment of alarm the empress had no more than some invalids and a few detachments of her guards to send to the relief of Frederiksham. No doubt was entertained that Gustavus would get possession of that place, and proceed to lay siege to the residence. Catharine was extremely uneasy, but always preserved the appearance of perfect tranquillity. The french ambassador just at that time entering the palace, her majesty asked him, what news were talked of? — “That you are going to set out for Mosco, madam,” returned he. — “You did not believe it:” she immediately answered. “I have given orders for a great number of post-horses to be kept in readiness; but it is for the purpose of bringing soldiers and cannons.”

She did really bring together the few troops that were dispersed among the less distant garrisons, and sent them into Finland to join the detachments that were already there. The command of this incomplete army was given to Mouschin-Pouskin, an inexperienced general, whose reputation for military conduct was not calculated to still the apprehensions of the people of Petersburg.

The empress shortly after wrote to the prince de Ligne, who, in conversation had familiarly given

given her the name of *imperturbable*, or immovable, and who happened to be then with Potemkin * :
 “ It is under the noise of cannon that shake the
 “ windows of my residence, that your immovable
 “ writes you this †.” — At the same time she sent to Potemkin the plan of the dispositions she had taken against the king of Sweden, and added at bottom : “ Have I done right, my master ‡ ?”

The grand duke having earnestly solicited the consent of his mother to go against the Turks ; the empress, apprehensive lest this resolution might conceal under it some dangerous design, dexterously found means to elude it. Taking advantage of what dropped from the grand duchess, that, though in a state of pregnancy, she was determined to accompany her husband, Catharine wrote to the prince, that the desire he had shewn to signalise himself in the war was proof sufficient of his courage and resolution ; and that his obligations as son, husband, and father rendered it incumbent upon him to defer his departure till the grand duchess should be brought to bed.

The grand duke had made all his preparations, and he was not diverted from his purpose by the

* It was on account of the coalition between Russia and Austria that the prince de Ligne served in the Russian army as an Austrian general.

† “ C’est au bruit du canon, qui fait trembler les vitres de
 “ ma résidence, que votre imperturbable vous écrit.”

‡ “ Ai-je bien fait, mon maître ?”

remonstrances of his mother. He renewed his intreaties for her permission to set out, and his letter ended thus: "My intention of going to fight against the Ottomans is publicly known; what will Europe say on seeing that I do not carry it to effect?" — Catharine only wrote in reply: "Europe will say, that the grand duke of Russia is a dutiful son."

However, when the army of Finland was raised, the empress granted leave to the grand duke to repair thither, though without conferring on him any command. The heir of the empire, on finding himself in the army destitute of all authority and surrounded by spies, did not chuse to remain there long. He returned to St. Petersburg and fell sick with vexation.

Her majesty hastily published a declaration, in which, complaining of the behaviour of the king of Sweden, and of the necessity to which he had reduced her of arming against him, she artfully dissembled the weakness of her troops in Finland, and said, on the contrary, that the garrisons had been reinforced, in the way of precaution, a long time before the aggression of the Swedes.

At the same time she ordered baron Nolken, the swedish minister, to quit the empire without delay.

Hostilities were commenced between the Swedes and Russians *, in Finland, a few days after the

* June 21st.

king's arrival in that province. Each side charged the other with the first aggression, and it would be of little use to enter into the merits of the question; the hostility was considered and treated by each as a declaration of war. The Swedes were generally successful in the small actions and skirmishes that now took place, taking several places of no great consequence, besieging others of greater, and seizing some strong posts and difficult defiles, which might serve to facilitate their further operations in a country which nature had rendered in all respects so extremely impracticable.

The swedish fleet, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, five large frigates, and several corvettes, paraded about the gulph, and even advanced to within sight of the batteries of Cronstadt, and seemed to bid defiance to the russian armament. That armament had received sailing orders for the Mediterranean; but the appearance of the swedish fleet occasioned them to be recalled.

So near an approach of an enemy could not but greatly alarm the capital, where the voice of war, except in issuing its decrees against remote nations, had never before been heard, from the first laying of its foundations by Peter the great. Troops were drawn from all quarters for its protection, and every possible measure adopted to secure it from the effect of any sudden attack, to which, from situation, it was so much exposed. The
younger

younger branches of the imperial family were removed to Mosco; but the empress, with her usual magnanimity, waited unappalled to face the tempest. All the kozaks within reach were hastily collected to be turned loose, as opportunity served, upon the swedish provinces; and admiral Greig sailed with a strong fleet from Cronstadt, to counteract the designs of the enemy by sea, on which side only they could yet menace Peterf-burg.

If Russia was slow in her movements by land, she was by no means slack in her naval preparation, which was so favourite an object, that no labour was deemed a toil, nor no expence a waste of treasure, in its pursuit. For, besides that the sea presented the ottoman weak side, and that one decisive action on that element would more fatally affect the security of the turkish empire than the loss of half a dozen battles by land, Ægypt, and the beautiful islands of the Archipelago, held out such a variety of fascinating objects, and so apparently easy of attainment, that it would require no common degree of political temperance and self-denial to withstand the temptation of seizing them. It need scarcely be observed, that all the ottoman possessions on the continent of Europe must, after such an event, lie at the mercy of Russia.

A powerful fleet of eighteen sail of the line, most of them heavy ships, of high rates, and great

great weight of metal, together with a cloud of frigates, and other smaller and lighter vessels, suited to the nature of the seas and intended service, were accordingly equipped, and destined for the Mediterranean. As the celebrated count Orlof, who had acquired so much glory in the last war, and who had the addition of Tschefminski to his title, in commemoration of the remarkable destruction which then befel the turkish fleet, in a port or bay of that name, on the coast of the Lesser Asia, had now declined, from some causes not generally known, to take upon him the command of this expedition, that important trust was committed to the charge of admiral Greig, a Scotsman, a brave and distinguished seaman, who, in a strange country, without fortune or interest, had risen, merely by his superior merit, from the humblest walks of life to his present exalted situation.

Another naval armament was prepared, with no less industry, for the service of the Euxine; but Russia, not being able to cope with her enemy there, in the number or strength of line of battle ships which she could bring into action, intended to supply this defect by the construction of a numerous flotilla, composed of frigates, galleys, gun-boats, and various descriptions of light vessels, calculated to act near the shores, in a depth of water which would not admit the approach of capital ships. It was, however, principally

cipally intended for the security of Kinburne, by rendering the entrance of Dniepr inaccessible to the turkish fleet; which was the more easily accomplished, as the navigation is at all times difficult, and particularly dangerous to bad seamen, from the number of shoals with which the river is incumbered, together with the narrowness of its channels and variety of the currents. As these vessels were not, on this service, liable to be exposed to the dangers of the seas and storms, they were accordingly fortified with a tremendous artillery, composed of heavy battering cannon, and of large mortars: and, being besides excellently stored with able seamen and veteran soldiers, they were eminently fitted for the designed purpose. The prince of Nassau, who had been heard of in the late war, both in the french unfortunate attempt on the island of Jersey, and in the still more disastrous attack of the combined nations of France and Spain on the fortrefs of Gibraltar; and whose uncommon rage for adventure, and eagerness to signalize himself, have led him almost to every part of the world where any service was to be performed or danger encountered; was appointed to the command of this naval armament on the Euxine.

It would seem as if the unaccountable supineness with which Europe looked on, as if totally unconcerned, at that dangerous precedent, and atrocious act of fraud, perfidy, and violence, the
dismem-

dismemberment of their neighbour kingdom of Poland, had misled the united allies of Austria and Russia in their present system of policy, and that they took it for granted, that the subversion of an ancient, and one of the greatest empires in the world, with the apportioning of its vast members and spoils to their mutual aggrandizement, would have been beheld with the same indifference in the present day, which had prevailed on their first essay at partitioning countries in the former memorable instance.

But things were now changed, and the minds of men and of nations were not asleep; or, what amounts to the same thing, were not so entirely occupied by mean concerns, or selfish petty designs, as to overlook affairs of the greatest moment. That supineness, to which both great communities and the most watchful individuals are at particular periods subject, may, perhaps, with propriety, be as much considered as an epidemical disease of the mind, as those which rank under the same description are with respect to the body. Some of the principal powers in Europe had long since looked back with wonder and regret at their own inertness upon that occasion. The insupportable haughtiness and arrogance of one of the allied powers, which was disposed to dictate to all mankind in their most secluded concerns, together with the selfish policy and known duplicity of the other, served likewise to

rouse that general attention, and to awaken that jealousy, which their power and union alone should have been fully competent to excite, without any auxiliary aid. England too had had full leisure to ruminate upon, and sufficient cause to reprobate, that absurd and blind policy, under the influence of which she had drawn an uncertain ally, and an ever to be suspected friend, from the bottom of the Finnish gulf, to establish a new naval empire in the Mediterranean and Archipelago; a measure which, if it could have taken effect, would not only have proved in the end ruinous to England herself, but which would have involved, while it could last, all the vast surrounding regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in continued broils, troubles, and wars.

The allied empires accordingly now experienced a very general coldness, with an implied or declared disapprobation, with respect to their claims, pretensions, and designs, in almost all the courts of Europe. The republic of Genoa was almost the only exception; she, besides a considerable loan, granted the use of her ports to Russia, and engaged to furnish the mediterranean fleet with stores and supplies. The determination of Venice with respect to the war, and the refusal of the king of Sardinia to permit recruiting in his dominions, were already known. The new commercial treaties which Russia had entered into with Naples and Portugal, whatever future benefits

fits they might possibly afford in seasons of peace, could tell but little with respect to the war. But Spain, which was of much greater importance than both together, had a turkish ambassador then at her court, who was treated with the greatest honours, and was not only herself at all times avowedly inimical to the Russians obtaining any footing whatever in the Mediterranean, but, it was now universally believed, would have resisted the passage of their fleet through the streights by force of arms; and nobody was ignorant that her fleets were far superior, both in number and goodness, to those of Russia.

With respect to France, she made no secret of her disposition, nor could any doubt be entertained of it though she had. An uninterrupted alliance for between two and three centuries, (a duration of friendship scarcely to be paralleled between nations upon any equality of power,) a most advantageous commerce, amounting nearly to a monopoly, through that period, together with many particular acts of friendship, and many essential political services in seasons of great occasion, were, exclusive of that just policy which had long induced her to regard with a jealous eye any augmentation of power to Russia, the strong ties that bound France to the porte. It was then easily seen, that nothing less than the deranged present state of her own affairs, could compel her

to be a quiescent spectator to the ruin of the ottoman empire.

As to the northern powers, Sweden ordered the strictest neutrality to be observed, and forbid her seamen, and subjects in general, from entering into the service of any of the belligerent powers. Denmark was silent, and the part she was disposed to take not yet understood by her nearest neighbours; but, although she was known to be a good deal in the hands of Russia, yet it was not believed that, under the influence of a wise political foresight, she could really wish any farther aggrandizement of that overgrown empire, whose colossal power had already rendered the independence and liberties of all the nations of the north extremely precarious.

Holland, the open mart of all nations, whether friends or enemies, for all commodities, lent some money to Russia; but this was no public act, and the loan dragged on but heavily even with individuals. With regard to the political sentiments of that republic, nobody would venture to suspect her government of being at all favourably disposed to those schemes of ambition and conquest adopted by the allied empires.

The prussian monarch, both from situation and power, seemed alone capable of disturbing the views, and even of entirely frustrating the designs, of the allied empires; nor was there more than
one

one sovereign in Europe, to whom any great accession of dominion to either would have been so immediately dangerous. And though he was not perhaps competent, singly to maintain a contest against their vast united force, yet, in a cause which affected so many other interests as the present, he could not long fail of effective alliances. His policy was, however, too deep to be yet fathomed. Collected in his redoubtable native force, which rendered him superior to apprehension and circumstance, he coolly surveyed the gathering tempest, and waited to behold it burst, with a steady eye and undaunted countenance. The emperor had done as much as the habitual stiffness and pride of the court of Vienna, joined to his own incurable animosity, could well admit, in order to procure the quiescence and good neighbourhood of Prussia during the war. But the superior haughtiness of his great ally disdained to stoop to temporizing measures, or to conciliatory expressions. It seemed as if she rather wished, that Prussia was considered as not of sufficient importance to come within her estimate of things, than that it should be at all regarded as interfering with her views of ambition, or as capable of disturbing her calculations of conquest and dominion. Perhaps it was thought that all the spirit and wisdom of that kingdom had fled with the immortal Frederic.

Such was the aspect of public affairs, and so little favour did the countenance of most of the european powers express to that war, which its partizans warmly hoped, and many others expected, would have terminated in the final subversion of the ottoman empire.

The disposition of the first maritime power in the world was still unknown; and upon that much depended. We have seen that the expedition to the Mediterranean was a most favourite object with Russia; but it was not its being merely a favourite that rendered it of importance; it was considered as the most effective, if not the most potent arm of the war, without whose aid no other exertion could be deemed absolutely decisive. Yet it was scarcely possible that this expedition could succeed, in almost any degree, without the concurrence, favour, and even assistance of England. With an equal disregard of future consequences, and contempt of former favours and services, Russia had, for several years, heaped disobligation upon disobligation, in her transactions with Great Britain; and even now, when so much was immediately at stake, she still refused to renew the commercial treaties which had so long subsisted between the two nations; at the same time that she was running about all Europe to form commercial engagements with states, who from nature, situation, and circumstances, were incapable

incapable of receiving or communicating any benefit from the connection; and that the english merchants, without the security of a treaty, were still the great supporters of the manufactures and commerce of that empire. Yet she expected that England would again become the dupe to her ambition.

In this confidence, pilot-boats were engaged in England, to wait in proper stations for the arrival of the russian fleet; to guide them into those ports which, being the station of the royal naval arsenals, could the more expeditiously supply them with all manner of stores and provisions, and, at the same time, most effectually facilitate their equipment for the mediterranean service. These objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the channel, and then to be replaced by a new set, equally versed in the navigation of the more distant seas which they were to encounter.

In the mean time, some merchants in London, as agents to the court of Petersburg, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ships, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to serve as tenders to the russian fleet, in the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promising train seemed the state of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from

entering into any foreign service, threw a fatal damp upon the design. This was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for supplying them must be renounced; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war, with respect to all the hostile powers, and consequently should afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of remedying in some degree this grievous disappointment, or at least of putting the better countenance upon the business, and affecting not to regard it, Russia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of large transports to answer the same purpose; but here the disappointment was renewed, that government not only absolutely refusing a compliance with the request, but declaring its fixed determination to observe the strictest neutrality through the course of the war. As this rejection was attributed solely to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, so it was added to the black catalogue of her political sins, and stored up for future remembrance.

Though nothing could exceed the vexation which this disappointment occasioned, nor serve more effectually to exasperate the court of Petersburg, yet it happened, singularly enough, that few things could have been of more essential service to her than the failure. For, had that fleet proceeded

proceeded on its intended course to the Mediterranean early in the summer, (as was intended, and the service required,) the remaining part of her marine force, her great naval and military arsenals, her ports, her golden acquisition, the province of Livonia, and her capital itself, would have been all exposed to great risk and apparent danger, in consequence of the rupture which soon after took place between her and her jealous and exasperated neighbour the king of Sweden. Thus, it not seldom happens, that the favoured children of fortune are greatly served by her in spite of themselves, by her overruling and counteracting those ill-laid designs, to which the blindness of their passions and violence of their desires have given birth.

The admiral received a command to make ready for sea; but an incident of a singular nature prevented his compliance.

It is well known that there is a want of native officers of sufficient ability and experience to conduct the operations of the russian navy with judgment and effect. It was not perhaps in the nature of things that this deficiency could be fully supplied by foreigners: it was however the only resource; and the conclusion of the american war afforded a considerable supply of young english officers, whose minds were too alert to live out of action if it could any where be found. Few, if any, of these had risen to any higher rank

in their own service than that of lieutenant, so that the command of single ships seemed the highest advancement to which they could yet be competent. They were however of the utmost importance to Russia in the present state of things; and Great Britain, notwithstanding the jealousies subsisting between the two courts, refrained from proceeding to the extremity of recalling them home.

This known scarcity of commanders could not fail to attract the attention of foreign adventurers, who had acquired any experience and reputation in maritime affairs. Of this number was the english pirate and renegado Paul Jones, who had rendered himself so notorious in the american war, by the mischiefs which he did to the trade of his country, and whose desperate courage, which only served to render his atrociousness conspicuous, would, in a good cause, have entitled him to honour.

This man could not but experience the common fate incident to his character; and, finding that he did not meet the consideration which he expected in America, he made a tender of his services to the court of Petersburg; where he was gladly received, and immediately appointed to a high command in the grand fleet which was under equipment at Cronstadt. The british officers, full of those national and professional ideas of honour which they had imbibed in their own country and service,

service, considered this appointment as the highest affront that could be offered to them, and a submission to it an act of such degradation, that no time or circumstance could wipe away the dishonour. They accordingly went in a body, to the amount of near thirty, without a single dissentient lagging behind, or hesitating on the account of inconvenience or personal distress, to lay down their commissions; declaring at the same time, that it was impossible for them to serve under, or to act in any manner or capacity whatever, with a pirate or a renegade.

Nothing could have been more vexatious or more embarrassing to the court of Petersburg, at the present critical period, than this spirited conduct of the officers. Punctilios of honour, operating in the face of command, was a thing unheard of in that service. No Russian, under the first rank or order, would dare to insinuate such an idea. As it was, it could not be considered as less than a direct insult to the court, and any submission to it as a grievous derogation from its dignity. It would besides establish a precedent which might be troublesome or dangerous with respect to her own subjects. It was well for the officers that they were not the members of a small state, and that this did not happen in a season of peace, when their services might be dispensed with. The necessity of the time however prevailed. The appointment of Paul Jones to a command in the
Cronstadt

Cronstadt fleet was recalled; and that adventurer (whose character of an impetuous courage had made an impression on the court far beyond its real value) was ordered to the armament in the Euxine as second to the prince of Nassau. In the mean time, a report was raised of a scandalous adventure with a girl which making a noise in the town, occasioned him to think it advisable to quit the country entirely *.

The capudan-pasha having taken the command of the turkish force in the Euxine, appeared with a numerous fleet at the mouth of the Dniepr, where the service grew warm between him and the prince of Nassau, who, with his flotilla of galleys and light vessels, opposed, with great success, the attempts of the enemy to become masters of that river.

Two, if not three, desperate and bloody engagements took place between the hostile armaments, in that broad lake which is formed by the Dniepr and the Bogue, before their junction with the Euxine, and which is itself so considerable a piece of water, as to be distinguished by the

* Paul Jones afterwards went to Paris, where he died in July 1792, and was attended to his grave by a deputation of the national convention. — He was brave at sea, though not by land, having refused to accept a challenge more than once, and was handsomely caned upon the exchange at Philadelphia. Besides, he was extremely ignorant, and unqualified to have the command of more than one ship.

name of the Liman sea. In all these the Russians were so highly successful, as to afford occasion for singing *Te Deum* twice, if not oftener, both at Petersburg and in the army of prince Potemkin. The Turks displayed as desperate a valour, in these amphibious engagements (which could scarcely be considered as naval) as their brethren had done by land, on the borders of the Danube; but, through that fatal indolence which has so long marked the conduct of that government, they were totally ignorant of the navigation of a river, which had for so many ages been in their possession. The Russians were likewise superior to them in point of seamanship; still more in the construction and fitness of their vessels for the service; and above all in the management of their powerful artillery.

The Russian squadron commanded by admiral Greig now put to sea, and the hostile fleets came in sight, or rather approached each other, in a fog, off the island of Hogland. The action did not commence till five o'clock in the afternoon, and in two hours so many ships were disabled on both sides, that they were mutually obliged to lay by and refit, in order to prepare for a renewal. No scene was ever less calculated for the action and evolutions of two such numerous fleets, composed of great and heavy ships; a narrow sea; every where studded with innumerable islands, rocks, and shoals, intermixed with de-

ceitful channels, and rendered more dangerous by violent, irregular, and jarring currents: nor were the climate and face of the heavens more favourable: overcast skies, a frequently foggy, and generally hazy air, with sudden tempestuous squalls and unexpected dead calms, were among the incommodities which seemed to set seamanship and naval skill at defiance. Indeed such an exhibition, in such a situation, seemed scarcely less than an outrage upon nature. At eight o'clock the battle was renewed with apparently a fresh accession of rage on both sides. Nothing could exceed the dreadful violence of the action, or the fury and determined obstinacy with which it was maintained. The darkness was so great, that the knowledge of each ship was in a great measure confined to her own sphere of action; so that, ignorant and heedless of what was passing elsewhere, she fought as if all depended upon herself individually, and as if victory or destruction were the only alternatives. The victory, as is usually the case in actions not apparently and absolutely decisive, was claimed by both fleets, as a flag-ship had been taken on either side. Admiral Greig, from the accession of fresh ships and the nearness of the great naval magazines and arsenals, was enabled, in less time than seemed credible, to put again to sea with greater force than before. He came suddenly upon the Swedes in the road of Sveaborg in Finland, where they were as inappre-

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hensive of attack, as they were from situation and circumstance incapable of defence. He attacked them furiously in this moment of consternation and surprize, and during the disorder occasioned by their endeavours to get within the protection of the forts. The *Gustavus Adolphus*, of sixty guns, seemed a sacrifice destined to the security of the rest; she was taken and burnt by the Russians *.

From this time to the end of the campaign the Swedes continued shut up in the harbour of Sveaborg, being precluded even from the means of refitting, while the Russian fleet rode the triumphant mistress of all the seas within the Sound; nor was it long before a numerous flotilla of small vessels, laden with provisions for the army in Finland, as well as for the fleet, through the fatal lack of protection, became a prey to the enemy.

The joy which this sudden turn of affairs occasioned at Petersburg may be estimated from the panic which had so lately, for the first time,

* It is not to be dissembled, that several of the Swedish ships did not do their duty: but their commanders were not punished like the Russian officers who betrayed a want of courage. Admiral Greig caused the captains Kutusof, Walderen, and Baranof, to be put in irons and brought to Cronstadt; the two former were condemned by a council of war to suffer death, and the third to serve as a common sailor for the remainder of his life. The empress granted them all a pardon, and Potemkin employed them in the fleet of the Euxine.

feized the residence ; and the importance that was set upon the service at court, was fully shewn by the favour which the empress conferred upon admiral Greig. A letter written to him with her own hand, was filled with praise and acknowledgment ; and this honour was succeeded or accompanied by the substantial benefits of a considerable sum of money, and of a good estate in Livonia. This commander, who was singularly fortunate in his life, seems to have been no less so in its period, which took place before the close of the year, when he was loaded with all the honour and favour which he seemed well capable of receiving. The distinction and honour paid to him did not end with his life. His funeral was, by the express orders of the empress, celebrated with the greatest pomp, being decorated and adorned by all those appropriate naval and military honours, which the martial nations of Europe have assigned as the last tribute to the memory of the brave.

Gustavus now offered proposals to the empress for an accommodation, on conditions purposely calculated to wound the pride of that princess. He required that count Razumofsky should be exemplarily punished for the intrigues and machinations of which he had been guilty at Stockholm ; that the part of Finland and of Karelia that had been ceded to Russia by the treaties of Neustadt and Abo, should be restored to Sweden ; that the court of Petersburg should make peace with the
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porte, under the mediation of Sweden, who would propose to re-establish the independence of the Crimea, in conformity with the treaty of Kainardgi; and, in case of a refusal, should fix the boundaries such as they were in 1768. He farther required, that Russia should immediately disarm, and consent that Sweden should remain armed until after the conclusion of the treaty.—“What language!” exclaimed Catharine. “If the king of Sweden were already at Mosco, I should even then shew him what a woman like me is able to do, standing on the ruins of a mighty empire.”

Instead of making any reply to the proposals of Gustavus, her majesty recalled general Mikhelson, who was fighting against the Turks; conferred on him the command of her army in Finland, and reinforced that army with twenty thousand men.

The first efforts of Mikhelson were not attended with success. He attempted to dislodge a body of Swedes, advantageously posted in the Savolax, thinking that it was his business to attack them in front, while the deserter Sprengporten advised him to turn them. Mikhelson hearing with difficulty what Sprengporten said, sternly answered: “What! are you afraid?” to which Sprengporten, retaining the most perfect composure, only replied by saying: “Let us march on*.”

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* Sprengporten is, however, a very violent man, having, it is said, once drawn his sword against king Frederic Adolphus,

The Swedes suffered the Russians to come up, and when they were within reach of their artillery, fired at them a volley of old iron, by which five hundred of them were killed. The rest retreated in disorder. Mikhelson, discovering his mistake, availed himself of Sprengporten's counsel, and got possession of the Swedish post.

Sprengporten, being dangerously wounded in the first onset, was rendered lame for the rest of his life. But the lot of a traitor is no object of concern. What ought not to be forgotten is the spirited behaviour of his son, who, uniting filial affection with the no less sacred love of his country, followed his father to the wars, but never would draw his sword against Sweden *.

But the empress reckoned on the defection of the officers of Gustavus; and it was soon found that she was not mistaken.

The king of Sweden's manifesto, which was published † shortly after his arrival in Finland, but some time later than the Russian, was fraught

phus, father of Gustavus III. Discontented with Russia, for better reasons than he had been with Sweden, he retired into Germany, and lived a good while at Tœplitz. Since the death of Catharine he has returned to Russia.

* When his father was disabled from serving any longer, the young Sprengporten went to the army of prince Potemkin, and was wounded at the assault of Ismail.

† The 21st of July.

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with much severe charge against the conduct and views of the court of Petersburg, for a series of past years; and the effect heightened, where the charge is deficient, by the bitterness of implication, which leaves more to be conceived than directly meets the eye. But the scolding of sovereigns affords no more pleasure or edification than that of common people; and most of the real causes of complaint we have already gone over. The designs and attempts of Russia upon the province of Finland, which are here delineated, being new ground, yet untouched upon, we shall now lay open. That power is charged with having, almost continually, ever since the conclusion of the peace at Abo, endeavoured to debauch the Finlanders from their connection with Sweden, under the specious pretence of rendering that great duchy independent, under which it would have experienced the fate which Courland already had done, of becoming a feudatory province to Russia. The failure of these projects, which is attributed only to the integrity and attachment of the people, seemed to damp the design for a time: but the defection of an officer of high rank, whom she found means to draw into her service, and who had been long entrusted by the king in commands of importance in Finland, was said again to have roused all the ambitious projects of that court. That she had accordingly laboured incessantly since to excite a spirit of dissention and revolt

among that people, and had even sent a general-officer privately into the country to reconnoitre the posts, and to sound their disposition.

The king of Sweden was destined to meet with the greatest disappointments, and to experience the most grievous mortifications, in his endeavours to emancipate his country from foreign interference and control, to redeem, in some degree, her antient glory, and to enable her once more to hold her former rank among nations. But the star of Russia was still predominant, while that of Sweden was not only obscured for the present, but afforded too much room for apprehension, that it was upon the point of setting to rise no more.

Those machinations and intrigues, of which the king complained so much in his manifesto, had taken much deeper root, and their effect was much more widely diffused, than he was yet aware of. A counter revolution, by which the antient forms of government would be preserved, the ambition and venality of the nobility gratified, while the nation was in fact governed, as Courland long had been, by a foreign minister resident in its capital, was the grand and determined object of Russia; and her measures were so laid, that she probably calculated to a certainty upon the event. For she was seconded in the open and avowed part of her views (which went no farther than the restoration of the former government) by

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much the greater part of the antient nobility, with all the influence which so numerous and eminent a body necessarily possessed; to which were to be added the infinite number of others, who, from various causes, were inimical to the late revolution, and consequently to the system of government founded upon it.

It was said, and seems probable, that a counter-revolution was only part of the object, that no modification would be admitted, and that nothing less than absolute dethronement could afford satisfaction. That the king's crossing at so critical a period the favourite views of his great adversary, the contemplation of which had long afforded the most sublime gratification, had created a personal animosity beyond all bound and measure, and which the most signal vengeance could scarcely be sufficient to allay. It was even rumoured (and rumour is not always unfounded, particularly in despotic governments), that, in the height of resentment, an idea was once entertained of reviving the title of the grand duke to the crown of Sweden, as successor to the late unfortunate emperor Peter the Third, who had, unhappily for himself, relinquished that quiet and secure inheritance, for the delusive prospect of succeeding to the unstable and bloody throne of a vast, but disjointed and disordered empire.

However that was, the excellently constituted, disciplined, and well-appointed army which the

king commanded in Finland, rendered still more formidable by the native unconquered courage of the troops, and the singular intripidity of their royal leader, would have been able, if nothing sinister intervened, and that no internal unsoundness vitiated its composition, to carry dismay and terror to the gates of Petersburg; nor could the wisest foresee what revolution in public affairs such an event might not have occasioned. But, instead of the gratification of these flattering ideas, the king soon discovered that he could place no confidence in his army; that a general disaffection was spread among his officers, especially those in high commands, and of the most noble families; that they were not only determined to counteract all his designs in the field, but that several of them carried on a traitorous correspondence directly with the enemy, while a great number (and undoubtedly the honestest part) declared openly, that they could not, without a violation of their conscience and the oaths they had taken to their country, draw their swords in a war, undertaken without the consent of the states of the kingdom, and of course contrary to the constitution.

This unexpected disgrace and misfortune Gustavus was doomed to encounter at the siege of Frederiksham, where the officers refusing to lead on the troops to the attack, and he appealing to the latter, on whom he still relied, to his utter astonishment and dismay, they generally laid down
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their arms. While the king seemed inextricably involved in these difficulties and dangers (for even the safety of his person, in his own army, appeared to be sufficiently problematical) and that the seeds of dissention and disaffection were equally shooting up in the capital and other places, the violent irruption of the Danes, from the side of Norway, into the richest provinces of Sweden, seemed destined to overwhelm him entirely. Under this additional pressure, he was obliged to abandon the army in Finland, in its present uncertain and disjointed state, to the care of his second brother the duke of Ostrogothia, while he undertook himself a perilous voyage by sea, exposed to the greatest of all dangers, that of being captured by a most cruel and implacable foe, from whom deliverance could scarcely be hoped : and, after a severe circuitous journey by land, proceeded to the southern extremity of his dominions, to oppose, without troops or means, a new and very formidable enemy.

The Swedish monarch was already within a short distance of Frederiksham. He had caused a part of his troops to be embarked on board of galleys, giving orders to general Siegeroth, who had the command of them, to go and land on the other side of the town, to begin the attack as soon as ever the troops were on shore, and to fire a cannon as a signal for acting on both sides at once.

Siegeroth was retarded by contrary winds, and had great difficulty in landing his troops. He however succeeded at length, and gave the signal agreed on. Immediately Gustavus resolved to lead up his men. But some of the principal officers, at the head of whom was colonel Hesteko, represented to him how very difficult it was to attack the fortress on the side where he was; that it was against their duty to allow him to expose his person to inevitable danger; and that he himself ought to set some value on the lives of his faithful subjects.

This certainly was not such language as was held by the conquerors of Narva: but Gustavus III. had no resemblance with Charles XII. Nevertheless, expressing his surprise at these words of his officers, he replied, that he would be obeyed. Upon this, several of them united in declaring that they could not undertake an offensive war without the consent of the nation; that they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their country; but that they would never resolve to attack a neighbour who had not provoked them.

Stung with this resistance, the king addressed himself to the soldiers. The regiment commanded by colonel Hesteko immediately laid down their arms, and their example was followed by the greater part of the army. Gustavus now charged
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lieutenant colonel Rosenstein to go and tell general Siegeroth, to reembark his troops: and he himself retreated to Kymenagorod. The next day he caused the officers who had refused to march to be put on board a ship, and sent them to Stockholm; where they were received by the populace with every mark of displeasure, and were shortly after put under arrest.

It is not to be doubted that the nobles, who regretted the change in the ancient form of government, were willing to avail themselves of this opportunity for bringing it back to its primitive state, and were acting in concert with Russia *. But a number of other officers, whom they had gained over, were not in the secret; and the soldiers especially could not be acquainted with it.

There seems no small reason for supposing, although it could not be ostensibly avowed, that, notwithstanding the near ties of blood and affinity between the royal houses of the two northern kingdoms, yet, that the court of Copenhagen was little less disposed to wish for and to accelerate a revolution in the government of Sweden, than even that of Petersburg: although it was easily seen (the king's temper and character considered) that such a measure could not be accomplished,

* Letters were intercepted of a correspondence which was carried on by some of the principal officers with the court of Russia.

without the most imminent danger to his person, and a great hazard of very ruinous consequences to his family.

This disposition, however, is not entirely, nor perhaps in any great degree, to be attributed to that inveterate animosity which for several ages has been so deeply rooted between the Danes and the Swedes. The king of Sweden himself, most unadvisedly, as being totally inconsistent with that system of policy, which seems in other respects to have been the great object of his life, indicated, soon after the commencement of his reign, dispositions so inimical to Denmark, as seem fully to justify her in adopting such measures of security, and of forming such alliances and connections, as were best calculated to counteract the apparently dangerous ambition of so near a neighbour; who seemed watchful to take an unneighbourly and unfair advantage of any circumstance that might embarrass her affairs, or misfortune that might weaken the state.

It appears, if we credit the state of the matter given by the Danes, that the very year in which the king of Sweden accomplished the revolution in the government of his own country, he directed his views to the production of one of a different nature in Denmark, which, without meddling with its government, would, by a fatal separation of its parts, have reduced the power and consequence of that country in the system of Europe

Europe to nothing, and rendered its future existence, in any degree, as an independent state, extremely precarious. This was by an attempt to separate the ancient and extensive kingdom of Norway from that crown to which it had for several centuries been so closely united, and which would have rendered the name of a kingdom scarcely appropriate to its remaining weak and disjointed dominion.

It has unfortunately, and by a strange perversion of reason and policy, been nearly the constant system pursued by the court of Copenhagen, through a course of ages, to rule Norway with a harsh and unfeeling hand, and to afford too much room for complaint to that people, on whom its strength and power so much depended: insomuch that they seem to have been generally treated and considered rather as aliens than as subjects and equal members of the same general dominion and government. How far these causes of disaffection continued to operate in the present instance, we cannot pretend to determine, but it is clear from the event that great discontents still prevailed in that kingdom; for the new swedish sovereign was not only charged with fomenting them, with a view to exciting a general insurrection, but with marching an army, in the year 1772, to the frontiers of Norway, under the intention of absolute invasion, in support of the insurgents. The discovery of the plot, the taking
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of the cyphers under which the correspondence was conducted, along with the immediate measures which were pursued for placing that country in a proper state of defence and resistance, were alleged to be the causes which disconcerted this project, and prevented, at least, a hostile attempt, for carrying the design into execution.

If this charge be well founded, as it seems to be, it could not be expected that the court of Copenhagen would afterwards place much confidence in the faith or friendship of a prince, who had afforded so early and so glaring a testimony of his being little bound by either; nor is it to be wondered at, that, so circumstanced, she should be less apprehensive of the distant power of Russia, formidable as it is, than of the restless spirit and watchful enterprise of a less potent power, whose vicinity enabled him to be at all times troublesome, and might, in certain situations, have afforded him opportunities of being highly dangerous. Russia was likewise the natural check upon his ambition, and almost the only one that could be effective in cases of sudden emergency. To these causes and motives for Denmark's throwing herself into the arms of Russia, in preference to Sweden, is to be added, and particularly remembered, the signal obligation by which she had been recently bound to the empress, for the singular cession which she made of her son's (the great duke's) patrimonial rights and inheritance in the duchies

duchies of Sleswick and Holstein; which may well be considered as a free gift, the miserable county of Oldenburg, though the original natal seat of the Danish sovereigns, not warranting the name of an exchange. Few acquisitions, if any, could be of equal importance to Denmark with this cession; for, besides the very considerable accession of power and revenue which it afforded, with the benefit of thereby rounding and completing her German dominions, it was of still much greater advantage, in precluding those frequent litigations and wars, in which the strangely mixed sovereignty in these duchies had so long involved the possessors; and which would in future have become every day more arduous and dangerous, as the sovereigns of Russia would have been the opposite parties in the contention.

A strict alliance between Russia and Denmark took place upon this occasion; and it is stated, that by some articles of the treaty then concluded, which do not appear to have been published, the latter was bound, in certain cases therein specified, to supply Russia with twelve thousand auxiliary troops, together with a naval aid of six ships of the line. Undoubtedly the court of Petersburg was equally bound, in opposite circumstances, to afford an aid to Denmark commensurate to her power. These transactions took place in 1773, the year immediately succeeding the alarm, occasioned by the alleged attempt or design

sign upon Norway. These specific conditions, whether suppressed parts of the treaty then communicated to the public, or included in a separate one, were evidently kept secret, as the king of Sweden declared, in a public document, that he never heard of them, until the general notice given by Denmark of their intended fulfilment; while he seemed upon the whole rather to doubt their existence.

Whatever political errors the Swedish sovereign might have committed in his early conduct with respect to Denmark, it seems probable that he afterwards sincerely repented the hasty and unguarded loose which he then gave to his imagination or passions; and he had since endeavoured, by a course of the most friendly attentions, to conciliate matters, and to wear off all remembrance of them. It seems more than probable that his political system was not then formed, and that it was not absolutely decided until his return from the visit to Petersburg.

Upon the ottoman war, the approach of the present state of affairs in the north, and his own determination to renew or confirm the ancient alliance with the Turks, he particularly laid himself out, with the utmost assiduity, not only to gain the friendship of Denmark, but to secure her effectually, by making her a convert to his own opinions and principles. The sudden and unexpected visit which, towards the close of the year

year 1787, he paid at the court of Copenhagen, and which was so devoid of all etiquette and ceremonial, as to resemble the free intercourse between two common neighbours, was a matter which excited, at least, the observation and curiosity of all the courts of Europe, and occasioned much general political surmise and speculation. The king of Sweden's object in this visit was to impress deeply on the court of Copenhagen the same apprehensions which he entertained himself, of the danger arising from the overgrown power, the insatiate ambition, the insidious intrigues, and the over-reaching conduct of Russia: that the danger was common to both the northern kingdoms; that nothing less than the closest union and friendship, which their interests required to be indissoluble, along with the most speedy and vigorous mutual exertions, could possibly avert, or even ward it off for any considerable time. He stated, that if Russia succeeded in her present ambitious design of overthrowing and partitioning the ottoman empire, her power would then become so vast, that all efforts on their side to control or restrain it would not only be futile, but acts of absolute lunacy; for they could afterwards only hope to subsist as miserable dependents on her clemency.

Though the king of Sweden enforced all these and various other arguments, representations, and proposals, with all those powers of elocution by
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which he was so eminently distinguished, and which wrought such wonders in the popular assemblies of his own country, here they failed of their wonted effect: so much does that, in all things, depend upon time, place, and circumstances. The royal Dane had already determined on the measures which he would pursue, and no conversion was made on either side.

The defection of the Swedes was more than a victory to Catharine. Not satisfied with this advantage, that princess, conformably with the treaties subsisting between her and Denmark, called for the succours she had a right to demand of that power against the Swedes. Though wisely inimical to war, the court of Copenhagen was faithful to her engagements. She immediately ordered a fleet to be equipped: and the prince royal, accompanied by prince Charles of Hesse*, went on board, in order to proceed to Norway, and put themselves at the head of the troops.

The Norwegians, a simple and generous nation, maintaining amidst their rocks the purity of antient manners, and that valour which rendered them so famous under Margaret of Valdemar; the Norwegians, whose lofty stature, flaxen hair, and venerable beards, keep alive the remembrance of their fathers, those heroes who so often invaded

* The prince of Hesse is father-in-law to the prince of Denmark.

England, and received the well-earned honour of being celebrated in the strains of Ossian; the Norwegians heard not in vain the signal of war. At the voice of the prince of Denmark, they darted through the passage * ensanguined by the death of Charles XII. entered the western provinces of Sweden, forced, at Quistrum †, a part of the regiment of Westrogothia to capitulate, made themselves masters of Oudewallia, and of all the other places they came to in their way; and went and laid siege to Gothenburg.

Gothenburg, after Stockholm, is the most considerable city of Sweden. The loss of it would have been almost irreparable to Gustavus. That prince was already returned to his capital, where

* Near Frederikshall. It may here be observed, that there is no longer any doubt in Sweden that Charles XII. was assassinated. An officer of the name of Cronstedt, who died at a very advanced age, declared that he himself engaged the engineer Maigret to kill Charles XII. This plot was formed at the instigation of that Monarch's brother-in-law and successor prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel. Cronstedt, who delivered to the engineer the pistol with which he was to shoot Charles, afterwards took back that weapon, and kept it, hung up in his cabinet to the end of his life. M. Castéra saw at Stockholm the hat of Charles XII. and assures us that the hole made by the ball is a very small one.

† The Swedes accused Träneborg, the commandant of Quistrum, of having taken a bribe from the danish generals; and he was accordingly tried by a council of war, who sentenced him to be degraded.

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he learnt that Gothenberg was besieged: whereupon he sent the regiment of Yemland and his own guards to reinforce the garrison, and repaired himself to Dalecarlia. There he assembled the peasants, reminded them of what they had achieved for Gustavus Vasa, and conjured them to march with him to the defence of their country.

Three thousand Dalecarlians followed him at once. They were imitated by the inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces; and Gustavus soon found himself at the head of a numerous army; but, dreading lest Gothenburg should surrender ere these succours arrived, he departed with one of his aides-de-camp and a single domestic, put on a disguise, that he might not be known to the enemy, and penetrated as far as the walls of the city. He at first met with great difficulty in entering the gates. The soldiers would not believe that it was their king; but at length the gates were opened to him.

Notwithstanding his presence, notwithstanding the army that followed him, Gothenburg would have been taken, had it not been saved by the arrival of unexpected succours.

Nothing could be more calamitous, or apparently hopeless, than the aspect of the king's affairs upon his return from Finland. Fortune had not only deserted, but seemed totally adverse to him in every thing, and ruin appeared opening on every

every side. The contagion from the army had spread through various parts of the kingdom, and infected even the capital.

Happy it was for Sweden, or at least for the king, that at this moment of such imminent danger there were other powers who were not indifferent to the consequences of that country being overwhelmed by Russia and Denmark, whereby every idea of any future balance of power in the north would be totally destroyed. It was the more fortunate at this season, as the affairs of France were getting into such a train as rendered the expectation of her being able, in any degree, to support her ancient ally, every day more precarious. The new treaty of alliance concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, and the strict union already cemented between them and Holland, formed so powerful a counterpoise to the dangerous alliance between the two empires of Germany and Russia, as seemed capable of being an insuperable bar to the progress of their ambitious designs. To render this balance the more completely effective, it was necessary, in the first instance, to prevent Sweden from being too much weakened, and, above all things, any revolution from taking place in its government; and, secondarily, to preserve the ottoman empire from subversion or absolute ruin. We here see how, through a sudden turn of public affairs, these powers found it necessary to put themselves in the

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place of France, to supply her imbecillity by supporting her alliances, and to take up that system of policy which she had so long pursued. Such were the motives which induced England and Prussia to become arbiters of the peace and protectors of the liberties of the north, so far as the preservation of some equipoise in the state of power there might tend to produce that effect.

Mr. Hugh Elliot, the english minister at Denmark, was no sooner informed that Gothenburg was in danger, than he quitted Copenhagen, crossed Sweden in great expedition, and repaired to the camp of the danish prince. He summoned that prince to raise the siege of Gothenburg, declaring to him, that, unless he evacuated the territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on all the danish ships in her ports, and would send a squadron to bombard the castle of Kronenburg.

The prince of Denmark, struck with these menaces, immediately thought of retiring, when the prussian minister * came and seconded that of Great Britain. A truce was presently concluded; and the army of the danish prince now peaceably returned to Norway †. It was certainly to the spirit

* Count Von Rhode.

† Notwithstanding the various difficulties which the negotiating ministers had to surmount, another armistice for a month was happily concluded: and this was succeeded by a third, for six months, the term of which did not expire until the

spirit and activity of the british minister, that Gustavus was indebted for the preservation of Gothenburg. The menaces held out by that envoy had not been prescribed him in his dispatches: but they succeeded; notwithstanding which, he had not the approbation of his court.

In the mean time the russian forces that were gone against the Turks and the Tartars were gaining frequent advantages.

The first conflict happened near Otchakof, and proved fatal to the Ottomans. The pasha of Otchakof embarked in small vessels six thousand men, who, in the design of taking the fort of Kinburn by surprize, landed on the promontory before it. Unfortunately for the Turks, general Suvarof was in the fortress. He suffered them to disembark without opposition, and even encouraged them to proceed by sending out a few raw musqueteers, with orders to retreat immediately as though they were frightened. The Turks fell into the snare; and, while their boats were gone back to Otchakof to fetch a reinforcement, Suvarof marched out at the head of two battalions, with bayonets fixed, and all the Turks who were on shore were either slain by their arms or drowned

the 15th of May 1789. — The prince of Hesse withdrew his army from Sweden into Norway, rather before the middle of November.

in the sea. Suvarof at the same time received a dangerous wound in the neck*.

Rear admiral Voinovitch†, who had the command of three ships of the line and eight frigates in the Euxine, declined an engagement with the turkish fleet of five times greater force than his own; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the english officer Priestman, who served under him and was eager to fight, he retired under the cannon of Sevastopol. This timid prudence occasioned him to be disgraced, as prince Potemkin turned him out of the service.

Here it was seen what courage national pride can inspire, even in the breast of slaves. When the capudan-pasha's ship caught fire, a turkish sailor ran across the flames to save the flag; and while he was unfastening it, a russian sailor, not less intrepid, jumped into a canoe, climbed on board the ship ready to blow up, seized on the flag, and brought the Turk with him prisoner.

The generals Taliefin and Tekely defeated, in several rencontres, the Tartars of the Kuban. Tamara had already made himself master of Georgia, and kept the Lefghis in awe.

* This general always marches at the head of his troops, it being one of his maxims, that, "The head never waits for the tail."

† The same who was so maltreated in Persia by Aga Mahomet in 1782.

In the mean time vast armies were preparing for the field. Nothing that tended to ensure the most decisive success could be withheld from the grand favourite prince Potemkin, in whose department the war lay; or rather, who had the whole empire at his command. It was even expected, that, in the distribution of kingdoms and empires, a sovereign dominion, under whatever title, would be allotted to his share *. Those Russians who considered themselves as patriots, entertained in the mean time the most serious apprehensions of the consequences which might ensue, under certain possible and natural circumstances, from so vast a power being lodged in the hands of a single man, as he already possessed. With respect to the war, nothing could exhibit a more forbidding or a more deplorable aspect than the intended scene of action. Famine, pestilence, with all the desolation and calamity of a long and most cruel war, had laid waste the tartar countries, and ravaged both the turkish and russian borders; so that all the provision for the armies, the single article of green forage excepted, was to be brought from an immense distance.

In defiance of these difficulties, a vast russian army, estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand

* There is little doubt that the idea at this time was to have formed the territories of Moldavia and Valakhia into a monarchy, for the sake of placing prince Potemkin at its head.

men, appeared on the banks of the river Bogue*, adjoining to the confines of Poland, Turkey, and Tartary, and on the way to the Euxine, under the orders of prince Potemkin and general count Romantzof. These being assisted by prince Repnin, generals Suvarof and Kameniskoï, frequently beat the Turks, who avenged themselves on the Austrians. This great force was supported by a field-train of one hundred and thirty-seven pieces of artillery, besides an enormous park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, destined for the siege of Otchakof; and furnished with that exuberance of powder, ball, shells, and all manner of military machines, which are the usual concomitants of a russian army, particularly when engaged, as at present, upon favourite service. A large portion of this army, under the command of general Romantzof, was designed to enforce respect on the side of Poland and Lithuania, and to furnish a strong separate command under general Soltikof, to support the austrian commander prince Cobourg† on the side of Moldavia; with a view first to the siege of Khotyim; and, after that capture, to the conquest of the whole province. This assignment of the active and principal service to prince Potemkin was

* About the 18th of June.

† The same who was unsuccessful against the French in 1792.

so decisive a victory over his great rival and competitor for honour and favour, general Romantsof, and so grievous a mortification to the latter, that it presently after occasioned his resignation.

While these transactions were going forward, prince Potemkin was employed in the siege of Otchakof. Fortifications of uncommon strength, an abundant supply of ammunition, a numerous garrison, and the severity of the season, seemed necessarily to render this place impregnable. The besiegers suffered so greatly from cold, that they had been obliged to dig subterraneous huts to screen themselves from its fatal effects: being likewise in want of provisions, they died in great numbers every night. But the frost, which caused them so much trouble to resist, assisted them in taking the town. Observing that it was open to attack on the side of the Liman, where it was less fortified, and where the ice facilitated access to it, prince Potemkin suddenly sent orders to command the assault; and, while he remained in his camp with his mistresses, his lieutenants, at the head of a party of troops, rushed into the town, and spread carnage and desolation on every side. It is not, however, to be thought, that prince Potemkin was detained by any suggestions of fear: for, several days before, he had passed many times to and fro, with the utmost coolness, under the very

cannon of the ramparts *, because he had learnt, that some one or other had dared to suspect his courage. He absented himself from the assault of Orchakof for no other reason than that it did not present him with an opportunity for distinguishing himself in an extraordinary manner.

Prince Anhalt-Bernburg † followed a different conduct. He was the first to enter the town, at the head of the grenadiers ‡ and chasséurs. The fight was long and bloody, both on the ramparts and in the streets. The turkish soldiers defended themselves with obstinate bravery ; and almost all of them were slain with their weapons in their hands. The rest were put to the sword ; and a great part of the inhabitants met the same fate.

The Russians now gave up the town to plunder. They entered the houses ; and, after putting the

* It is related that, in one of these walks, a general officer, who accompanied him, had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball, and suffered some cries to escape him. " What do you cry for ?" said Potemkin coldly. The officer was silent from respect. He died the next day.

† Prince Anhalt-Bernburg, a relation of the empress, was very brave, well informed, but rather pedantic. Potemkin and Momonof, who were afraid of his growing influence with the sovereign, were perpetually striving to make him appear ridiculous.

‡ Prince Potemkin had created a body of forty thousand grenadiers and the same number of chasséurs. He must always be in extremes.

masters

masters of them to death, carried off the valuables, and abandoned themselves to all the horrors of debauchery and rapine. The scenes of riot and slaughter lasted three whole days, and cost the lives of more than twenty-five thousand Turks. In making the assault, the Russians lost twelve thousand men.

Otchakof, independent of the value it derived from strength and situation, seems to have been of much more consideration as a trading town, than it was usually regarded in this part of the world; for the number of inhabitants now made prisoners exceeded twenty-five thousand; a degree of population which affords no small indication of former prosperity. Such are the fatal ravages of unpyting war! As this event took place on the festival of St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russian empire, so the superstition of the soldiery and common people attributed the guidance of the fortunate shell entirely to their tutelary saint, who, they supposed, had thus gained a complete victory over Mohammed. If the occasion had been less doleful, it might have been rather a laughable circumstance to observe, that all the letters from Otchakof, however they disagreed in other things, took particular notice, and seemed to lay some emphasis upon the recital, that four thousand very fine women were included among the prisoners,

1789. These conquests were nearly as fatal to the victors as to the vanquished: but Catharine was not the less ardent in continuing the war. She ordered a fresh levy of recruits throughout her extensive domains; for the purpose at once of reinforcing her armies in the Crimea and on the banks of the Danube, of stationing others in Poland, and of marching a formidable force against the Swedes. But men began to grow scarce in the Russian empire: the wilds of Siberia were therefore ransacked for its exiles; and a part of them were brought to be incorporated with the recruits.

During all this time Gustavus III. was employed in forming schemes of revenge. He could not forgive the empress for the dissensions which her agents were perpetually fomenting in Sweden, nor the Danish government for the support it had given to Russia. A lieutenant-colonel, named Benzelskierna, took up the resolution of administering to the animosity of his master.

The Russian squadron had entered the road of Copenhagen, where it was detained the whole winter by the ice *. Sprengporten †, the Swedish

* This squadron, commanded by vice admiral Kozlainski, consisted of eleven ships of the line and several frigates. There were three ships of a hundred guns.

† Brother of the Sprengporten who had entered into the Russian service.

ambassador, was a frank and generous old man, much respected by Gustavus, but in whom he placed no great degree of confidence. Without recalling this ambassador, his majesty conferred the title of *chargé des affaires* on a person named Abeldyl, and sent him to Copenhagen, earnestly recommending it to him to have a vigilant eye on the proceedings of the Russians and the Danes.

Benzelstierna lost no time in joining Abeldyl; and, under pretence of setting on foot some new speculation in commerce, connected himself with a captain Obrien, a native of Ireland. He purchased his ship of him, paying twelve thousand rix dollars in advance*; and, leaving him in the command of it, entered into a written engagement farther to pay him a like sum, if the enterprise should succeed. He then freighted the vessel with casks well pitched within and without, and filled with brandy; and ordered him to take advantage of the first north-east wind, by setting fire to his ship. By this execrable contrivance it was intended, not only to burn the Russian fleet, but that of the Danes also.

Obrien had the indiscretion to speak of his agreement to one of his friends named Test. This man, struck with horror at what he heard, went in all haste to report it. The Danish ministry immediately sent people to search the vessel, and

* About three thousand pounds sterling.

caused Obrien to be taken into custody *. Benzelstierna, suspecting the failure of his plot, had gone for safety to Abeldyl, who sent him to the house of a minister of his acquaintance, whence he was enabled to make his escape in the livery of a domestic.

The danish sailors, excited by the Russians, assembled in great numbers about the gate of Abeldyl, declaring their intention to murder him, and set fire to his house. But, having foreseen this tumult, Abeldyl had already gone off to the coasts of Scania †. The rioters were dispatched by a detachment of the military.

The

* Obrien was condemned to die on the scaffold, but that sentence was remitted, and he was sent to the galleys, where he died.

† The design of setting fire to the men of war in the harbour of Copenhagen was doubtless horrible. But perhaps the Russians had no reproaches to make the Swedes on that head. These two nations, who have often contended with so much courage, have sometimes seen their courts descending to the vilest stratagems against each other. Stockholm will never forget the assassination of major Saint-Clair. In 1738, Saint-Clair, who had been sent to Constantinople with powers for negotiating, was returning with a Frenchman named Courturier. Being arrived at Khotyim, the pasha informed him, that he was laid wait for by two emissaries of Russia: the same thing was likewise told him by a Pole. Saint-Clair rejected the advice with indignation. At an inn in Breslau he met the russian captain Kutler, lieutenant Levitzki, and four soldiers disguised as servants, who, after having recognized him,

The atrocious attempt of Benzelftierna was not calculated to work a reconciliation between the two courts of Petersburg and Stockholm; and the operations of the war were resumed with vigour. The fleets of the two nations met at the distance of a few leagues from Bornholm: but the wind permitted them not to come to an engagement. Shortly after, however, they fell in with one another near Gothland*; and, though both the russian admiral Chitshagof and the swedish admiral Lilienhorn wished at that time to avoid an engagement, the ships in the rear got ahead of the

him, went and waited for him near the village Zauche. There Kutler came to him, greeted him politely, and asked whether he was not major Saint-Clair? Being answered in the affirmative, he arrested him in the name of the empress Anne, and conducted him into a wood near Neuburg. Here he made him alight from his carriage, led him about twenty paces from it, fired a pistol at him, and, on his falling, caused him to be dispatched by the four soldiers. During this time, Levitski, who was placed as a guard on Couturier, coldly said to him: "*Ne timeas, peccatum esset contra spiritum sanctum malefacere viro probo sicut te. Iste habuit quod merebat; erat inimicus magistri. Inimicus magistri est inimicus Dei; et puto me non peccasse interficiendo eum.*" The assassins then proceeded to divide the effects of the two travellers between them, and carried Couturier into the russian fortress of Sonnestein, whence on being discharged, he was assured that, if he ever spoke a word of the assassination of Saint-Clair, they had means for seizing him and punishing him, wherever he should happen to be.

* The 26th of August, 1789.

others,

others, opened their batteries, and fought valiantly for near four hours *.

The russian vessel †, commanded by the english captain Preston, had a hundred and sixty men killed or wounded. Three cannons burst on his upper deck, which occasioned the death of several of his people: but the intrepid Preston remained calm, gave the necessary orders, and continued the fight.

Another english captain, Frederic Thefiger, who commanded a ship of sixty-six guns ‡, bravely maintained the combat against vice-admiral Modée §, a gallant Swede.

The next day Lilienhorn, who might with his division have cut off that of the russian vice-admiral Mouschin Poushkin, neglected that advantage ||, which would doubtless have prevented the disasters which soon after befell the swedish fleet.

Captain Tchitchoukof, who had the command of a flotilla, got possession of the important station of Porkala, which was kept by the Russians till the approach of winter.

* It was in this action that the brave Molofsky, natural son of count Ivan Chernichef, was killed. He commanded the *Mstislaf, the Avenging Glory*, of 74 guns.

† Named Deris, the *Quarrelsome*.

‡ The *Vuischè Slava*, or the *High Glory*.

§ He was afterwards governor of Stockholm.

|| Lilienhorn was tried and degraded for it by a court martial.

The Swedes having fitted out a fleet of gallies and gun-boats, the empress opposed to them one of similar construction, under the command of the prince of Nassau, who had quitted the Liman * and the Euxine for that purpose; having likewise, as it was said, had some differences with prince Potemkin.

The russian gallies fell in, by surprise, with the swedish gallies near Rogensalm; and prince Nassau, always assisted by the counsels of Varage †, captain Winter, and a milanese officer, the chevalier de Litta ‡, gained the russian flag a second victory. Winter, to whom the success of this

* A broad lake, formed by the Dniepr and the Bogue, before their junction with the Euxine; and which is itself so considerable a piece of water as to be distinguished by the name of the Liman sea.

† Some time after this action, Varage, having gone ashore to reconnoitre the position of the swedish fleet lying at anchor, was met by a party of Bashkirs, serving in the russian army, who, observing him to be wrapped up in a blue cloak, took him for a Swede and killed him. This done, they carried to general Numsen the cross of St. Charles of Spain and the cross of St. George of Russia, with which Varage was decorated, and which they mistook for swedish orders.

‡ The chevalier de Litta, a Milanese, commander of the order of Malta, is vice-admiral of the galley-fleet. He is said to have furnished a great number of plans which still remain unexecuted. He is a man of colossal stature, and fond of talking.

day

day was principally owing, was struck by a cannon-ball, and died of the wound *.

During this engagement between the galley-fleets, the Russians had attacked the Swedish army, still in the neighbourhood of Frederiksham. Their advantages by land were not less considerable than those by sea; and they forced the troops of Gustavus to evacuate Russian Finland.

The Swedish monarch, having collected fresh forces, was preparing for a second invasion of the Russian territory: but Catharine had time to put them in a state of defence. The two armies met; and the Russians, commanded by general Numfen †, gained a complete victory.

* The merits of captain Winter, as a seaman, were universally acknowledged. The prince of Nassau was extremely jealous of him; Potemkin did not like him; and Popof, secretary to the latter, was much afraid of him, because Winter once clenched his fist at him. The same shot that carried away Winter's arm killed colonel Apraxin and one of the rowers.

† General Numfen is a Dane, and has been long employed in the Russian service. — It was on this occasion that the famous contractor Denizof, general of the Kozaks, carried off the king of Sweden's baggage-waggons. At the peace that monarch desired to know who it was that deprived him of his shirts; and when the old Kozak was presented to him, he shewed him many civilities.

1790. Gustavus was not discouraged by his late series of ill success; but went in person on board the galley-fleet, to go in quest of the prince of Nassau; from whom, after a desperate battle, he captured thirty vessels. Not long after, he disembarked, at the distance of not more than thirty miles from Petersburg, several battalions of infantry and some squadrons of light troops, with which he took possession of the important post of Pardakofsky, which opened to him an entrance into the russian Savolax. The residence was a second time struck with consternation; during which the empress was at Tzariko-selo, and never quitted that country-palace. But she gave orders to general Igelftroem, who commanded in the absence of Ivan Soltikof, to spare nothing for recapturing Pardakofsky. Igelftroem immediately marched against this post a column of eight thousand chosen men, trusting the command of them to the brave prince of Anhalt-Bernburg, who was killed at the first onset, together with Baikof, the second in command. The eight thousand Russians fought with the utmost intrepidity, and lost the half of their company, without being able to dislodge two thousand Swedes who guarded the post. These Swedes, however, would have fallen victims to their valour, if the thaw that came on had not hindered the Russians from renewing the attack, with a far greater force.

The grand fleet of the Swedes, commanded by the duke of Sudermania, pursued the russian squadron in the very port of Reval *. This act of imprudence cost them two of their ships †. But this mistake was followed by one of greater magnitude, as attended with more danger. They conducted into the gulph of Vyborg both their squadron of men of war and the galley-fleet, commanded by Gustavus III. By this ill-judged step the entire destruction of the swedish navy seemed inevitable : but it was saved by two russian admirals, Chitschagof and the prince of Nassau.

Admiral Chitschagof, who had under his command a fleet far more numerous than that of the Swedes, neglected to provide with batteries the only two passages by which it was possible for the Swedes to escape ‡. These latter, who were in absolute

On the same day that Gustavus took Pardakofsky by surprise, May 12, 1790.

† The Prince Charles, of sixty-four guns, surrendered to the Russians. Another, a seventy-four gun ship, ran a-ground, and the crew set fire to her, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

‡ A swiss officer, named Pélissier, who had been captain of a ship in Holland, pointed out to the generals Soltikof and Zuchteller the properest place for fixing the batteries, telling them that the Swedes would infallibly come out as soon as the wind should change to the east. Chitschagof refused to authorize him to give the twenty-four pounders which he had offered. The same officer was quite alone with a small frigate

in

absolute want of provisions, and could not have long remained in the gulf, attempted to make their way out by setting fire to the russian squadron that blocked up the passage. The wind coming favourably round to the east, they got ready and sent a fire-ship to lead the van*, in order to force the russians to disperse†. But the fire-ship struck upon a sand-bank and did no harm to the Russians, while they set fire to several of the swedish ships which the wind forcibly drove towards them. Nine ships of the line, three frigates, and upwards of twenty gallies, fell into the power of the Russians.

This action was particularly fatal to the british officers. Captain Denison, a gallant and skilful commander, had his head shot off by a cannon-ball; captain Marshall, in attempting to board

in the midst of the swedish flotilla, while it was retreating; doing them great injury by taking no less than one thousand three hundred men, nine chebeks, and four gallies. The jealousy of the admiral stifled the lustre of this brilliant action.

* The 3d of July, 1790.

† The fireship was commanded by a swedish officer, named Saldern, who was tried by a court-martial and degraded. The contriver of the stratagem was sir Sidney Smith, who afterwards burnt the french fleet at Toulon, attempted to set fire to Havre, escaped from the prison of the Temple at Paris, where he was confined, and at present commands a small squadron at Constantinople.

one of the enemy's ships, fell into the sea and was drowned; captain Miller, equally bold and enterprising, was severely wounded in his leg; captain Aikin, likewise a spirited and brave commander, had his thigh-bone shattered so as to render amputation necessary, and about four years afterwards died of an epidemic fever at Cronstadt. Several others were severely wounded; and captain James Trevenen, after having gallantly distinguished himself in the action, was mortally wounded by the last shot fired by the enemy, and died on the fifth day after *. He had already made

* This gentleman was a native of Cornwall, and of a very respectable family in that county. After receiving his education at the royal academy at Portsmouth, in the year 1776, he embarked as a midshipman with captain Cook, on his last voyage to the south seas. In taking astronomical observations, and surveying the various coasts, he proved an able assistant to that great navigator, who justly considered him as a young man of ample promise to do honour to the service and to his country. On his return from that expedition in 1780, he was promoted by the earl of Sandwich to the rank of lieutenant; in which capacity he sailed, till the conclusion of the war, with captain King, who had the highest esteem and friendship for him. Being impatient of an inactive life, in the year 1787 he solicited employment of lord Howe, then at the head of the admiralty; but, unfortunately for the naval service of his country, his application proved ineffectual. This refusal induced him to draw up a plan of discovery; and, knowing that a great saving would accrue to the russian government from sending by water the provisions for their settlements, which now go by land to Kamtschatka, &c. at a great

made himself master of the posts of Hanhousd, near Abo, and of Borefund, near Sveaborg, and

great expence, and that two thirds of them are often spoiled, he made a proposal for opening an intercourse by sea between Kamtschatka and Japan, and the northern parts of China, and for keeping in those seas a naval force sufficient to make themselves respected; which was laid before the empress Catharine, and so well approved of by her, that she immediately sent an officer express to invite him over to carry it into execution. He arrived at Petersburg the latter end of 1787; but the war with the Swedes breaking out put a stop to the intended expedition, and he was prevailed upon to accept the command of a ship of the line. Two small squadrons had been fitted out at Cronstadt for Kamtschatka; one of them to be commanded by captain Trevenen, and was to go round cape Horn; the other by captain Molofsky, who was to double the cape of Good Hope. It should seem as if the empress acted in conjunction with the court of Spain, for Molofsky was to proceed to the Philippines to purchase large vessels from the Spaniards. It should be here observed, that the Russians claim the coast of America to a considerable distance south: they have not themselves determined how far; this probably may hereafter be fixed by the advantage they may promise themselves from the country which they claim. In the various engagements that afterwards took place in the Baltic with the Swedes, captain Trevenen bore a very active part, and was honoured with repeated marks of the empress's favour; and doubtless, had he lived, would soon have arrived at the foremost rank in her service. He was a man of strong natural abilities, greatly improved by cultivation; and possessed a high sense of honour, and a liberal enlightened mind.

commanded one of the five moored in the narrowest passage of the bay of Vyborg.

The remainder of the Swedish galleys retreated behind the rocks of Schvenko-sund, which form several petty isles on a level with the water's edge. The prince of Nassau, whose fleet was twice as strong as that of Gustavus, advanced to give him battle. His unskilfulness offered an immense advantage to the Swedes; he was completely beaten, and lost the half of his fleet, with more than ten thousand men. However, his arrogance and vanity did not forsake him. Imagining that the people under his command had suffered themselves to be beaten purposely to tarnish his glory †, he wrote to the empress:—"Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight against the elements, the Swedes, and the Russians. I hope that your majesty will do me justice."

* The 9th of July, 1790.—In speaking of the two passages of the bay of Vyborg, it is not to be understood that it is on account of the nearness of the coasts, but because of the shallows.

† The truth of the matter is, that the Russian crews had, for the last six days, been worn out with fatigue; and, without leaving them the least time for repose, the prince of Nassau forced them to attack the Swedes, who were not only posted behind the rocks at water-mark, but, recovered from their panic, refreshed and reinforced by the junction of several ships. Four thousand Russians perished in the action, and an equal number made prisoners. They lost one third of the galley-fleet, many of which either blew up or were sunk.

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The empress returned him for answer: "You are in the right, because I am resolved that you shall be so. This is highly aristocratic; but it is therefore suitable to the country in which we live. Depend always on your affectionate ally *the Empress*." "CATHARINE!"

Thus were the Russians at length defeated, partly, it may be said, on their own element, and entirely in their own favourite manner of fighting, in which they were deemed irresistible; so that as the Swedes formerly taught them to conquer by land, they now in return taught the Swedes to beat themselves in this new severe mode of deciding the fortune of war. The prince of Nassau likewise, who had plumed himself highly on being the king of Sweden's direct adversary, and who shewed some evident marks of ostentation on his successes against him, was now compelled to lower his crest, and to resign his laurels to a superior foe. The scanty provision made for him afterwards by the empress*, whose usual magnificence, expence, and liberality, being considered, sufficiently shews that this misfortune served much to wear away the memory of his former ex-

* The empress had conferred on prince Nassau the rank of admiral of the galley-fleet of the Baltic, an estate in land with four thousand peasants upon it, a palace in town, and a pension of twelve thousand rubles. All this however did not prevent him from quitting the service of Russia for that of Prussia.

plots. Indeed, few things could have gone nearer to the heart of the empress than this defeat.

The battle of Schvenko-fund accelerated a peace. Gustavus III. by this time saw the imprudence of his conduct, and no longer indulged the expectation that the war which he had declared against the Russians could be attended with any great success, and make a useful diversion in behalf of the Turks. He was rather apprehensive lest the Russians might take advantage of the destruction of his navy, of the disordered state of his finances, and of the discontent of the Swedish nobles, to invade his dominions: accordingly he made no hesitation to accept the terms that were offered him on the part of the empress.

Galvez, the minister of Spain at the court of Russia, offered his mediation to Catharine, and zealously employed his good offices in obtaining favourable conditions, by promising that Gustavus would directly march against the French. This was all that the empress desired; and, feigning to pardon her enemy, in hope of seeing him entangle himself in a distant adventure, she blinded him the more to her views by affecting an uncommon generosity. She required nothing more than the re-establishment of the treaties of Neustadt and Abo *, and the total oblivion of the late hostili-

* At least there was but little difference. The Russian limits were extended as far as Kymenégorod.

ties. The treaty was accordingly signed at Varela without delay *.

The general heads of accommodation were thus settled between the principals themselves; it was in the first instance laid down as a rule, that the allies on either side were not to be consulted, nor reference had to any mediation whatever, but that the peace should be the immediate act, and proceed from the spontaneous will of the two sovereigns, without foreign advice or consulta-

* The 14th of August. General Igelftrøm on the part of Russia, and lieutenant-general baron Armfeldt on that of Sweden, were, without loss of time, appointed to confer and settle the terms of peace. They met on the banks of the Kymene, in a large tent erected for the purpose between the advanced posts of the two hostile camps, on the plain of Varela. As the commissioners had not much business to settle, and their principals were alike eager for a speedy accommodation, the negotiations could not be tedious. A suspension of arms was immediately agreed on; and shortly after the terms of peace were concluded and signed, the ratifications being to be exchanged in six days. This new treaty placed matters exactly in the same state they had been in before the war. All the antient treaties, or more properly those which had been concluded since the reign of Charles XII. were renewed and confirmed. If any change at all took place, it was only with respect to the recognition, or perhaps farther specification, of a clause in one of the earliest of those treaties, by which the Swedes were to be allowed to purchase corn free of duties in Livonia, whenever that commodity exceeded a certain price in their own country; a condition which Russia had hitherto made little scruple of violating upon the most trying and distressing occasions. The frontiers were to be left precisely in the same state they were in previous to the war.

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tion; this equally suiting the pride of one, and the peculiar circumstances of the other, with respect to those allies whom he was now unexpectedly deserting. It is likewise to be observed, that the empress was as little pleased or satisfied with the conduct of her ally Leopold, as the king was with that of Great Britain or Prussia.

During the war of Finland, Catharine had at once an opportunity for displaying her clemency and her severity. Some Swedish officers, employed as teachers in the cadet-corps at Petersburg, presumed to carry on a correspondence with their countrymen, in which they spoke of the empress with great boldness, though probably with much truth. Their letters were intercepted and carried to her majesty, who read them through. The Swedes were immediately arrested, and examined by Stepan Ivanovitch Schischkowsky*, head of the secret commission, and by a worthy military officer whom the empress joined with him in order to moderate his savage disposition. The crime was proved, and the guilty had certainly merited the punishment of death. Yet the empress was satisfied with sending them into her interior provinces, continuing to them the

* If it were the fashion to believe in the metempsychosis, it might be imagined that the soul of the caustic and barbarous St. Dominic had passed into the body of Stepan Ivanovitch Schischkowsky.

whole of their appointments, and at the peace he sent them into their own country*.

At the same time Radischef, a director of the customs at Petersburg, published the narrative of a journey from Petersburg to Mosco, in which he feigned to have had a dream, wherein Truth appeared to him, and bade him deliver such representations, in which the unbounded authority of Potemkin was energetically depicted, and where he had even dared to attack the empress. This was the first printed libel that ever appeared at Petersburg; and, what is extremely remarkable, considering the strict observation that is kept over the press, it was sold on the Exchange by hawkers for two days together at the price of twenty kopecks, with the imprimatur of the public licencer upon it, before it attracted the notice of government. Inquiries being made about it, the officer of the police whose business it is to licence publications said, that he looked at the manuscript, saw that it was the account of a journey to Mosco, stampd it with his imprimatur, and thought no more of it. Though Radischef had printed the pamphlet in his own lodgings, with the types of the custom-house press†, yet he was

* This fact was related to the author by the brave Swedish admiral Wachtmeister, taken by the Russians in the sea-fight off Hogland.

† All the public institutions almost have printing-rooms belonging to them.

presently discovered, and, on being interrogated concerning it, he simply replied, that he conceived there was no harm in publishing a dream, and that, if people saw their own resemblances in it, he was no more in fault than a man who should hold up a mirror for every one to look in that pleased. At this the empress was so incensed that he was sent to Siberia. It was certainly a shocking piece of insolence, but such an one as Frederic II. would have only laughed at.

Count Alexander Vorontzof and princess Dashkoff his sister, the known patrons of Radischef, were suspected of having instigated him to this publication. The former was even exposed to the examination of the secret commission; and from that time both the one and the other lost much of their consequence at court.

Thus Catharine behaved to the Swedes with an apparent generosity; because she wanted to gain partizans in Sweden; while she could sometimes put on a terrible aspect to the nation already in submission to her power.

It will afford no cause of surprise that the peace occasioned much joy at Stockholm, when it is known that the public rejoicings at Petersburg were carried to an extreme, which seemed little consistent, either with the pride of that court, or with the contempt with which it had so recently affected to regard and treat its late adversary and new friend. Among other instances of this, a grand

grand Te Deum was performed in the kazanski church, to assist at the celebration of which the empress came in person from Tzarfko-selo, as did the grand duke from Pavlofsky, and most of the nobility from their respective country residences; the whole court being for that day and night in the utmost splendor of gala; while the whole city was blazing with illuminations, and re-echoing with acclamations of joy. The magnificence likewise with which the empress honoured and rewarded the negotiators on both sides who concluded the peace, sufficiently testified how much she found herself interested in that event.

But the war of the Russians with Sweden has detained us from that which they were carrying on against the ottoman porte. We shall now return to it. The grand signior Abdul Achmed IV. was dead *, and the son of sultan Mustapha, his brother and predecessor, had ascended the throne under the name of Selim III. †

Abdul

* This excellent sovereign, being taken suddenly ill in the street, dropped down, and, notwithstanding the aid of medicine, expired early the following morning, April 7, 1789. His disorder seemed to have been a kind of apoplexy, though his death, as is customary in such circumstances, with respect to princes, was attributed to poison.

† Selim III. was at that time twenty-eight years of age, and had been, with the greatest integrity and honour, brought up and educated by his uncle most carefully, with a view to the succession, in prejudice to his own issue, but in a pious conformity

Abdul Achmed IV. had departed entirely from that intolerable haughtiness and arrogance, those

formity with the last request of his dying brother and predecessor. Selim, of whom great hopes seemed to have been formed, as if destined to restore the fortune and greatness of the empire, soon shewed himself equally unworthy of the education which he received, and of the inviolable integrity which his uncle had displayed in his favour. The opening of his reign was sullied by avarice and rapacity, and his throne deeply stained by cruelty and blood. The wealth of the grand vizir Yussuf pasha, which was estimated at about a million sterling, pointed him out as one of the first objects for the gratification of these sordid and inhuman passions. Instead of accepting his wealth as the price of his life, his blood was doomed to be sacrificed to his treasure. — This great minister and general was seized at the head of the grand army at Rutchuk, and being conveyed prisoner to Constantinople, was sentenced to banishment and to the forfeiture of his treasures; but this punishment being, upon reflection, thought too mild, he was murdered on the way to the place of his exile, and his head being brought back in triumph, was hung up to ornament the gates or walls of the seraglio. Confiscations and executions were now become fashionable, and their terror was lessened by their frequency; while distance or obscurity could only afford protection against the rapacity and cruelty of the new sultan. The violent spirit of caprice and innovation with which he was possessed, was still perhaps more ruinous to the empire than even this vile system of government. Every thing his uncle or the late grand vizir had done or established, was altered or overthrown, and, excepting the capudan-pasha, or grand admiral, every man was dispossessed of his office who was qualified to hold it. — He afterwards, however, corrected his disposition, and exhibited himself under a worthier character.

unjust

unjust and cruel maxims of policy, and that stern ferocious disposition, which had rendered so many of his predecessors the objects of dread and abhorrence to mankind. Humanity, beneficence, and justice, were the leading traits of his character; and he seemed a new graft upon the ottoman stock. He had received his education in the seraglio at Scutari, near the capital, where, besides the learning common to his country and religion, in the turkish, arabic, and greek, he had been early initiated in the sciences and languages of several of the countries of christendom; he spoke the italian, spanish, and french languages with tolerable fluency, but read and understood them all perfectly. This facility of conversation undoubtedly contributed to render him so fond as he was of the company of intelligent Europeans, a gratification which seemed to form one of his most pleasing amusements. He read much, but gave a decided preference to history and politics, beyond all other studies. Though scrupulously exact in his observance of all the mussulman religious rites and duties, yet he was suspected of being a free thinker; which perhaps proceeded from his never having been known to condemn, or to treat with ridicule or contempt, the religious rites or opinions of any of the various sects, whether christian or other, which were spread through the wide circuit of his dominions. On the contrary, he appeared the common father of them all, not
only

only protecting them, as far as his intelligence could reach, from the oppression of the Turks, but becoming himself occasionally the composer of their religious feuds, and the mild restrainer of their violence.

With respect to government, he saw perfectly, and deeply lamented, the incorrigible vices and abuses which prevailed in every part of the empire, and which were so closely entwined in the constitution itself, as not to afford a hope of his being able to eradicate, or even to reform them in any effectual degree. He abhorred the janissaries, as an ill-governed, turbulent, and most dangerous body. Their entire dissolution, and the establishment of the military force of the empire upon european principles, were the great objects of his wishes through the course of his reign; and if it had not been his ill-fortune to have lived in evil days, and in a bad neighbourhood, he might possibly have gone greater lengths towards their attainment than may be now easily imagined. He was fond of peace, because it suited his views, in training his subjects to the pursuit of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, as the means to render them rich and happy, and to which he gave them every encouragement. But he sufficiently shewed that he was not afraid of war, when necessity required that fatal decision.

We have the testimony of the celebrated count de Vergennes, late prime minister of France, and formerly

formerly ambassador at the porte, (who can be considered as no incompetent judge,) that Abdul Achmed was one of the finest gentlemen he had ever seen. Europeans were astonished when they heard him discourse with intimate knowledge of the state of the arts, of the amusements, and of the parties in their respective countries; when they heard him talk like a connoisseur of the music, operas, and paintings of Italy; of the french and english theatres; and still more, when he stated the political views and interests of the greater nations, and talked familiarly of the french intrigues in England and Holland, and of the factions which they formed or nursed in those countries. His favourite and happiest parties were formed with the christian ministers at the porte; and of these, the marquis de Choiseul Gouffier and sir Robert Ainslie, the french and english ambassadors, seemed to hold the first place in his favour. In these private parties, all assumption of state and dignity was laid aside; a perfect equality appeared, and the most unreserved freedom of conversation took place. He was fond of wine, and was said, upon these occasions, sometimes to indulge it to excess. It was in these moments of hilarity that he laughingly said, "if he were to become an infidel, he should assuredly embrace the roman catholic communion, for that all the best european wines grew, in their countries; and indeed, that he had

“never heard of a good protestant wine.” — Upon the whole, Abdul Achmed, the morning before his death, might have been safely classed among the best sovereigns then existing.

It was now supposed, and with great likelihood justly, that if the empress failed in the prosecution of her grand scheme, of driving the Turks entirely out of Europe, and placing her grandson Constantine upon the throne of the ancient greek emperors, her next favourite object, and not much less dear to her, was to erect the noble provinces of Moldavia, Valakhia, and Bessarabia, into an independent sovereignty, for her great favourite prince Potemkin; whose personal influence and vast power, already nearly supreme, had long spread jealousy and alarm, if not through the empire, at least through the court, and among the principal nobility. The great and constant opposition which she met with from the allies, was undoubtedly the cause which induced the empress at length to abandon this design: and, in the place of an independent sovereignty in these provinces, to sooth Potemkin's ambition for the present by appointing him hetman of the kozaks, an office of the greatest trust and power in the empire, which likewise carried in some sort the semblance of sovereignty; and which had only been filled by count Razumofsky since the days of the celebrated Mazeppa. But, in what regarded Otchakof, the Krimea, the Euxine, and all other points

points of her claim, she persevered in maintaining the same inflexible obstinacy. This was so much resented by the allied powers, and the differences upon the subject rose to such a pitch, that Russia was on the point of being involved in a war with Great Britain and Prussia; which was indeed only prevented by the powerful opposition and clamour which was raised in England against the intentions of government.

If that event had taken place at a certain period, Sweden, which was already a fore thorn in the side of Russia, would have become not only an equal, but a superior enemy. Placed by his situation on the only vulnerable side of that country, and supported by english fleets and prussian armies, the heroic king would have been enabled to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the empire; and possibly to produce one of those extraordinary revolutions, for which that government has ever been so remarkable; an event for which many thought the people were at that time fully ripe. It is then easily seen of what vast importance it was to the court of Petersburg to draw off Sweden from an alliance, which was capable of producing such dangerous consequences: at the same time, though comparatively a small consideration, yet a very favourite one, that it would enable that court to persevere in its native haughtiness with respect to the other allies.

The empress, fully sensible of the value of those great events which hung upon the capture of Or-chakof, exceeded even her own usual magnificence in the rewards which she bestowed upon the fortunate conquerors. Catharine sent to prince Potemkin a present of one hundred thousand rubles, besides a letter of thanks, and the honour of having medals struck to eternize his glory, with a marshal's truncheon, set with diamonds and entwined by a branch of laurel, the leaves of which were gold. Shortly after this she conferred on him the title of hetman of the kozaks, which the aged Cyril Razumofsky, who was still living, had resigned above twenty years ago*. The generals, prince Repain and Suvarof, received magnificent gold-hilted swords, richly set with diamonds, and the latter a gorgeous plume of brilliants to wear in his hat†. Estates, lots of peasants, and sums of money, were distributed to the other commanders; gold-hilted swords were showered upon the other officers down to the rank of lieutenant-colonel and

* When Cyril Razumofsky resigned to Catharine the title of hetman, she appointed him field marshal.

† This present made to marshal Suvarof must have appeared the more strange, as, in order to gain the affection of the soldiers, he affected great simplicity and coarseness of manners. He was seen sometimes to take off his shirt among the kozaks, bidding them to hold it to the fire, saying that it was the best way of killing the vermin.

major; the widow of an artillery-colonel, who was slain in the attack, was, with her children, consoled with a good estate; promotion was extended to officers of a lower order; and even the non-commissioned subalterns, and common soldiers who had entered Otchakof, were ornamented with silver medals.

Rewards doubtless adapted to rouse a great spirit of emulation in the russian armies! All their steps were marked by triumphs. Prince Potemkin took the isle of Beresani*. Prince Repnin drove the Turks from the borders of the Soltkay. Suvarof beat them completely at Fokshani†; then, hearing that the austrian army commanded by the prince of Saxe-Coburg was pressed hard by that of the grand vizir, he put himself at the head of eight thousand Russians, and ran to assist the Austrians. The latter to the number of thirty thousand, were already flying before the Turks, who had attacked them with an army of one hundred thousand men. The intrepid Suvarof came up and changed the whole fortune of arms. — “My friends!” cried he to his soldiers, “never look at the eyes of your enemies: Fix your view at their breasts: it is there that you must thrust your bayonets.” — At that instant falling on the Turks, they were routed with a horrible

* In 1789, a few days before the capture of Otchakof.

† The 21st of July 1789.

carnage, and he remained master of the field of battle. This victory, gained near the river Rimniks, procured Suvarof the surname of Rimniksky, and the double title of count of the holy roman empire and of the russian empire.

Some time after this, the same general took possession of Tutukay * in Bulgaria. The ferocious Kamenskoï† reduced to ashes the magnificent town of Galatsha, situate on the Danube, and the foremost of all Moldavia after Yassi, to which it was superior in point of commerce. Ac-kerman, Khedsebey, Bielgorod, Palenka, submitted to the arms of Potemkin. Bender surrendered at discretion.

The grand vizir, who, among his other vain-glorious assumptions, had boldly pledged him-

* Suvarof is as singular for the brevity of his style as for the rapidity of his conquests. On this occasion he wrote no more to the empress than four lines of russ poetry :

Slava Bogu !

Glory to God !

Slava vam !

Glory to you !

Tutukai vxala

Tutukay is taken,

I ya sam.

And I am there.

* General Kamenskoï was so cruel, that Potemkin would not leave him in the command of the army. He consigned every place he took to plunder, and then burnt it : but his rage was particularly directed against priests, whom he caused to be harnessed to the baggage-waggons of the army, instead of horses. The jews were also the object of his fury. He martyrizd them by stripping them naked in the depth of winter, and pouring cold water on their heads.

self

self for the recovery of Otchakof, made many preparations and movements which indicated a design of endeavouring to fulfil his promise; but a dreadful scarcity of provisions which sorely distressed his army, along with the watchful eye of the Russians upon all his motions, and, above all, the torrent of ill fortune which now began to overwhelm him from every quarter, not only erased all traces of that design, but soon convinced him, that even the preservation of Bender was not within the compass of his power or fortune.

General Kamenskoï, who commanded the Russian forces in Bessarabia, had posted them in such a manner through the winter, as, without forming a regular blockade, greatly to incommode the garrison of Bender, by cutting off their communications and intercepting their supplies. This being not only continued, but the evil augmented in the fine weather of summer, the garrison was reduced to great distress, and its relief became a matter of necessity. The prince of Anhalt Bernburg, who had gained great renown at the taking of Otchakof, and now commanded a detachment of Kamenskoï's army, derived an opportunity, from this state of things, of adding new laurels to the former. He had the fortune, near Kaufchen, on the Dnieffr, to fall in with a serasquier, at the head of seven or eight thousand spahis, or Turkish cavalry, who were conducting relief to the garrison of Bender.

Bender. Though the prince was inferior in force, he instantly attacked the Turks, and seemed to have had no great difficulty in totally routing and dispersing them; their convoy and every thing they possessed falling into his hands, and the serasquier himself being made prisoner.

But defeats were now become so common with the Ottomans, as to afford no matter of surprise either to themselves or others. The grand vizir had entered the province of Valakhia, but this enterprise proved fatal to his army, and nearly so to the ottoman empire. The combined forces of Austria and Russia, under the prince of Coburg and general Suvorof, estimated only at about thirty thousand men, had the boldness to attack the grand turkish army*, said to consist of between ninety and a hundred thousand men, near Marinesti, where they gained, with little difficulty or loss, one of the most signal and extraordinary victories known in modern times. In the accounts however nothing was related but the rout, slaughter, pursuit, and dispersion of the grand turkish army, as if these had been matters of course, and the inevitable consequences of their meeting.

About five thousand Turks were killed on the spot, and about two thousand in the pursuit; and nothing but the blunted swords, the wearied arms,

* September the 22d.

and the tired horses of the pursuers, could have checked the slaughter. Few or no prisoners were made, the rage and indignation of the Turks being excited in such a degree by the shamefulness of their defeat, (which, as usual, they attributed entirely to their general,) that they disdained to accept of quarter. The whole camp as it stood, including the grand vizir's tents and equipage, became a prey to the victors: three hundred camels, four hundred oxen, five thousand loaded waggons, eight thousand tents, six mortars, seventeen pieces of heavy cannon, sixty-four field-pieces, near one hundred standards, with a prodigious quantity of ammunition and stores, were among the spoils and trophies of victory. A few hundred men, killed and wounded, was the whole loss of the victors.

The Russians pursued their conquests to the Euxine, where the strong port town of Bielgorod, more generally known of late years by the turkish name of Ackerman, situated at the mouth of the Dniestr, fell without much difficulty into their hands; such being the present state of hopelessness and disorder, that the garrison was not competent to its defence. Kyliä Nova, another fortress, lying on the northern mouth of the Danube, and which in better times would have been deemed a conquest of difficulty, became now likewise an easy prey.

Ismaïl

Ismaïl still held out. Prince Potemkin had been besieging this place for seven months, and now began to grow impatient that he had not yet reduced it. Living in his camp like one of those ancient satraps, whom he alone in our days has equalled, perhaps surpassed, in luxury, he was surrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, who employed every effort to amuse him. One of these women *, pretending to read the decrees of fate in the arrangement of a pack of cards, predicted that he would take the town at the end of three weeks. Prince Potemkin answered, smiling, that he had a method of divination far more infallible. At that instant he sent his orders to Suvarof to take Ismaïl within three days. Suvarof made himself ready. The third day he drew up his soldiers, and said to them : — “ My brothers, “ no quarter ! Provisions are dear ! ” and immediately began the assault. The Russians were twice repulsed with great loss. But at last they scaled the ramparts, forced their way into the town, and put all that opposed them to the sword. Fifteen thousand Russians purchased with their lives the bloody laurels of Suvarof. That general then wrote to the empress these words alone : — “ The “ haughty Ismaïl is at your feet †.”

The

* Madame de Witt.

† The cruelties exercised by Suvarof in Ismaïl got him the nickname of Muley Ismaël, in allusion to the emperor of Morocco

The famous Hassan, who, from the post of capudan-pasha, had been raised to that of grand vizir, was unable to bear up against so many disasters, and died of vexation in his camp. His successor was decapitated at Shumla; and pasha Yussuf* succeeded him; but this change was not attended by a return of good fortune to the Turks.

Several french officers were at the taking of Ismail; among whom Roger Damas, Langeron, and the younger Richelieu†, distinguished themselves in the attack of that place, and were not the more noticed for it by prince Potemkin. Some days afterwards, this latter, discoursing of the french revolution, and treating it as a crime for a people to use any efforts for regaining their liberty, said to Langeron: "Colonel‡, your
" countrymen are a pack of madmen. I would
" require only my grooms to stand by me; and
" we should soon bring them to their senses." Langeron, who, though an emigrant, could not

Morocco of that name, who is known to have been one of the most sanguinary men that ever existed.

* The same vizir Yussuf who lately marched in Ægypt against the brave general Bonaparte.

† He was formerly called Fronfac: at present he bears the name of Richelieu.

‡ Langeron had been formerly colonel in the regiment of Armagnac.

patiently

patiently hear his nation thus spoken of, answered boldly: "Prince, I do not think you would be able to do it with all your army." At these words the prince rose up in great fury, and threatened Langeron to send him to Siberia*. Langeron instantly went away; and crossing the Seret, which divides Moldavia from Valakhia, he entered himself in the austrian camp.

Catharine, elated on hearing of these successive victories, when sir Charles Whitworth appeared the next time at court, said to him, with an ironical smile, "Sir, since the king your master is determined to drive me out of Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

In consequence of the extreme severity with which the Greeks had been treated by the Turks after the last war†, Catharine had reason to imagine

* Potemkin was on some occasions extremely irascible, and would sometimes be so transported with passion as to beat even general officers: he one day gave a box on the ear to a foreigner, who was a major in the russian service, for having praised, in some verses he had composed, the mistress of his secretary Popof in the same stanza with that of the prince.

† After the peace of Kainardgi, the Turks were still so much incensed at the Greeks of the Morea for having sided with the Russians, that the divan was on the point of deciding that the whole greek nation should be exterminated. The celebrated capudan-pasha, Gazi Hassan, prevented the issuing of this barbarous decree; but he could only bring the mem-
bers

gine that they were eager for revenge. Accordingly she caused manifestos to be dispersed in all the isles, inviting the people to take up arms again against the enemies of the cross; to reconquer their country, and to restore its pristine independance.

The Greek, Sottiri, who had been in the service of Russia, was sent to Epire in Albania for the purpose of distributing the manifestos of the empress and to prepare, in concert with the chief men of these parts, a speedy insurrection. An army was therefore soon assembled in the environs of Sulli. They marched against the pasha of Yanina, and defeated him in a pitched battle. The son of the pasha was killed in the action, and his brilliant armour was sent to the empress.

The Greeks now entered into a voluntary subscription, and with the produce of it they fitted out, at Trieste, twelve small vessels, of which they gave the command to a mariner of their nation, named Lambro Canziani *. Lambro cruized in the Archipelago as if master of that

bers of the divan to hearken to his advice by urging political motives: "If we massacre all the Greeks," said he, "we shall lose the capitation they pay us."

* The particulars concerning Lambro Canziani and the deputation of the Greeks are taken from Mr. Eton's survey of the turkish empire.

sea. Constantinople was filled with consternation, and orders were immediately dispatched to all the turkish ships in the Euxine to repass the Bosphorus, in order to stop the progress of the little grecian armament.

In the mean time the empress sent into Sicily a man named Psaro, with some other emissaries, not only to prepare there what was necessary for the russian squadron that was intended for those seas *, but to supply the Greeks with money and ammunition, and to put an end to the difficulties, which from a fordid policy, or in order to keep up appearances with the porte, the Venetians had thrown in their way. But the dishonest emissaries of Catharine neglected to execute her intentions, and divided among themselves and their base protectors the sums she had entrusted to them.

Justly exasperated at this conduct, the Greeks sent a deputation to Petersburg, who, after having long been debarred access to the throne by those whose interest it was that they should not be heard, at last obtained, by means of the favourite Plato Zubof, a private audience of the empress. The deputies presented to her majesty a memorial in greek and in french, conceived in the following terms :

* This was the squadron commanded by admiral Greig, the sailing of which was stopped by the precipitate declaration of war by the king of Sweden.

“MADAM,

“MADAM,

“It is not till after we had long solicited in
“vain your imperial majesty’s ministers for an
“answer to the memorial which we had the
“honour of presenting to them; till, driven to
“extreme despair by reflecting on the dreadful
“evils which this delay might produce to our
“countrymen, who, invited by the manifestos of
“your imperial majesty, have taken arms against
“the enemy of the christian name, and deputed
“us to lay the offer of their lives and of their
“fortunes at the foot of your imperial throne;
“it is not till we had lost all hopes of obtaining
“otherwise a speedy answer for stopping those
“streams of blood of our brethren which are
“doubtless already flowing through this delay;
“that we have at length presumed to prostrate
“ourselves at your feet, and to present our hum-
“ble memorial to your imperial majesty in per-
“son.

“Another duty, equally sacred, and which was
“a principal object of our mission, induced us to
“take this daring step: it was to undeceive your
“imperial majesty, whom, as well as your minis-
“ters, there have been people audacious enough
“to mislead. We have learnt with indignation,
“that the chevalier Psaro now erects himself into
“a chieftain and leader of our people; a man ab-
“horred by our nation, from the dregs whereof
“he rose, and wherein he would have remained,
“had

“ had he not by an unexampled effrontery imposed
“ upon your imperial majesty’s ministers by arro-
“ gating to himself a reputation for exploits which
“ he never performed. Were no ill conse-
“ quences to ensue to any but himself, we should
“ patiently await his appearance in our country;
“ a boast however which he will never perform
“ except upon paper. How he has acted towards
“ us your imperial majesty will perceive from our
“ memorial. We hear that he has received immense
“ sums, which he pretends to have expended on
“ our account. We assure your imperial majesty
“ that neither he, nor any of your officers sent to
“ us, ever paid us a single ruble. The flotilla and
“ the other armaments of Lambro were equipped
“ at our own expence. One of us, abandoning
“ his peaceful home, fitted out two vessels at his
“ peculiar charges, and expended in armaments
“ twelve thousand chequins; whilst the Turks
“ murdered his mother and his brother, levelled
“ his possessions with the ground, and desolated
“ his lands.

“ We never petitioned you for money; nor do
“ we request it now; we only ask powder and
“ ball, which we cannot purchase, and to be led
“ to battle. We are come to offer our lives and
“ our fortunes, not to beg of you money.

“ Deign, o great empress! thou glory of the
“ grecian faith! deign to peruse our memorial.
“ Heaven has reserved our deliverance for the
“ glorious

“ glorious reign of your imperial majesty. It is
“ under your auspices that we hope to deliver
“ from the hands of the cruel Mohammedans,
“ our empire which they have usurped, our pa-
“ triarchate and our holy religion which they
“ have prophaned; to rescue the descendants of
“ Athens and of Lacedemon from the tyrannic yoke
“ of ignorant barbarians, under which a nation,
“ whose genius is not extinguished, groans; a
“ people glowing with the love of liberty, whom
“ the iron yoke of barbarism has not degraded;
“ who have constantly before their eyes the images
“ of their ancient heroes, and by whose example
“ their warriors are animated to this day.

“ Our magnificent ruins speak forcibly to our
“ eyes, and proclaim our pristine grandeur; our
“ innumerable ports, our beautiful country, the
“ sky serenely smiling on us the year throughout,
“ the ardour of our youth and even of those ad-
“ vanced in age, all attest that nature is not less
“ propitious to us now than to our great pro-
“ genitors. Give us for a sovereign your grand-
“ son CONSTANTINE: it is the wish of our na-
“ tion (the race of our emperors being extinct);
“ and we shall become what our ancestors were.

“ We are not persons who have dared to im-
“ pose on the most magnanimous of sovereigns:
“ we are the deputies of the people of Greece,
“ furnished with full powers and other docu-
“ ments, and as such lie prostrate before the

“ throne of her, whom, next to God, we look
 “ to as our saviour; declaring that we shall be to
 “ our latest breath *,

“ Your imperial majesty’s

“ Most faithful and devoted servants,

“ PANO KIRI.

St. Petersburg,

“ CHRISTO LAZZOTTI.

April, 1790.

“ NICCOLO PANGOLO.”

The deputies were received very graciously by the empress, who promised them the succours they requested. From the presence chamber they were conducted to the apartments of her grandsons, where, offering to kiss the hand of the eldest grand duke Alexander, he pointed to his brother Constantine, telling them it was to him that they were to address themselves. They then presented their homages to the young prince, styling him their emperor †, and explained to him in greek the object of their mission. He answered them in the same language: “ Go, and “ let every thing be according to your wishes.”

The greek deputies delivered to the russian ministers a plan of the operations which they proposed to put in practice. Having received from the empress the means of augmenting the armament of Lambro Canziani, with cannons and en-

* For the sake of the curious in modern Greek, we have inserted the original in the Appendix, No. VII.

† Βασιλεως των Ελληνων.

gineers for undertaking the siege of fortified places, they thought of beginning a campaign at Sulli, which was their place of congress, and whence they kept up a correspondence with all Greece. Directing their first advances towards Athens and Livadia, they divided their army into two columns, expecting to be joined on their march by troops from the Morea and Negropont*, whither the squadron of Lambro was appointed to repair. Having afterwards formed a junction for the purpose of entering Thessalia, they were in hopes of being furnished with considerable reinforcements from Macedonia, and that on arriving at the plains of Adrianople, their army would amount at least to three hundred thousand men. Their plan was then to join the Russians in order to go and make themselves masters of Constantinople; hoping that the Russian fleet in the Euxine would be able to co-operate with them in their attack on that city: and at all events they thought themselves sufficiently powerful to vanquish the Ottomans and drive them out of Europe.

They had prudently calculated the service in which their troops were to be employed, their supply of provisions, the means of securing a retreat in case of a reverse, and in general the whole of their resources, as well as the forces which the

* The isle of Negropont is separated from the territory of Livadia only by a narrow straight. After Candia, it is the finest of all the Grecian islands.

enemy was in a condition to bring against them. Catharine, delighted with a project so analogous to the ambition she entertained of some time reigning in Byzantium, sent the three deputies into Moldavia * that they might conciliate the friendship of Potemkin. After having given them his instructions, Potemkin forwarded them to Sulli, accompanied by major-general Tamara, who was to superintend the grecian army, and furnish it with whatever was needful.

However, the collecting of an army of a hundred and fifty thousand Prussians on the frontiers of Bohemia, the convention of Reichenbach, signed † between Prussia and Austria, for the acceleration of peace, and the inimical dispositions evinced by the court of London ‡, caused a relaxation in the armament of the Greeks. Only a small part of the sums allotted them by the empress ever reached their hands; and it was recommended to them to keep themselves in readiness, but to undertake nothing till a more favourable moment should arrive.

* The empress caused them to be paid a thousand ducats to defray the expence of their journey. They quitted Petersburg the 24th of May 1790.

† The 27th of July 1790. Prince Reiss and baron Spielmann signed for the emperor Leopold II. and baron Hertzberg on behalf of the king of Prussia.

‡ An armament was got ready for sea to proceed to the Baltic to act against the Russians.

Lambro, whose armament had been ravaging the ottoman seas, was at length obliged to submit to a superiority of numbers. Being attacked by a considerable fleet, he defended himself for a long time with spirit and vigour; but all his vessels were sunk, and a few of his company escaped among the rocks in boats.

1791. On the credit of some of his friends, he again fitted out a ship, with which he destroyed a number of turkish vessels; but it at length met with the same fate that had befallen his little armament. Lambro once more saved himself in his boat, and escaped to the mountains of Albania.

Russia, after having encouraged him to sail under her flag, calmly suffered him to be declared a pirate; and the agents of that power did not vouchsafe to deliver him from the prison into which he had been thrown for debts contracted in its defence. He obtained his liberty at last by a voluntary contribution raised by his countrymen.

Prince Potemkin, having made the necessary dispositions for permitting him with safety to leave the army, hastened his return to Petersburg*, to enjoy his triumphs in the approbation of his sovereign. The empress received him with transports of joy. Festivities and presents now resumed their alternate course. She gave him ano-

* In the month of March.

ther palace contiguous to her own, which had formerly belonged to baron Wolff, and which had now been fitted up for his reception at the expence of six hundred thousand rubles, and a coat laced with diamonds, which cost two hundred thousand. He himself displayed a pomp which would have appeared excessive in the most splendid court of Europe. The expence of his table alone, on ordinary days, was regularly about eight hundred rubles: it was furnished with the most exquisite dainties and the rarest fruits. In the depth of winter he has bespoke long beforehand all the cherries of a tree in a green-house, at a ruble the cherry. He possessed an immense quantity of jewels, some of which he had scarcely seen, and never cared about, since the moment they were first brought him. He one day took a dislike to his diamonds, and they were all sold: some time afterwards the desire returned of having them; and he ordered them to be bought on all hands and at any price *.

Without

* At one time he had formed the project of purchasing from a private proprietor the islands of Lampedusa and Linosa in the Mediterranean, and of obtaining the paramount lordship of them from the court of Naples. As the scheme was laid aside, probably on obtaining the consent of the king of Naples to admit the russian fleet into the harbours of Sicily, nothing more of it is known than that an order of knighthood was to be established, similar to that of Malta, for Russians and Greeks, of whom proofs of antient nobility were not to be

Without being so powerful as Biren or Mentchikof, who wanted nothing but the title of emperor, prince Potemkin saw all Russia at his feet, especially the military, of whom he was the absolute lord; and his levée was frequently more thronged than that of the empress.

Prince Potemkin, in large companies, had a downcast sullen look; seated among twenty ladies, like a sultan in a seraglio, speaking to not one of them, except in monosyllables and at long intervals: he wanted nothing but the turkish pipe for being absolutely the figure we see in pictures of the grand signior. Though in Russia there are a great number of princes, and the major part of them superior by birth to prince Potemkin, yet he was always called *the prince* by way of excellence.

This prince, as has been already observed, had a very striking defect in one of his eyes: a report was one day sent to him by the hands of a one-eyed colonel; which might very naturally have happened without design; he, however, took it for a piece of ill-judged wit, and testified his displeasure in a very emphatical, and, it may be added, a very puerile manner.

be required. Of this order the sovereign of Russia was to be grand-master, and the governor of the island for the time being the master.

He behaved with great haughtiness towards those who made their court to him. It is true, he knew his people, and conducted himself accordingly. He has sometimes in public taken a russian general by the collar; but he was extremely polite to all foreigners, even to those who served in his army as subalterns. He had major-generals to wait on his person, who performed exactly the office of valets-de-chambre: this indeed was no obstacle to their promotion; and it depended on them to judge whether or not they had reason to congratulate themselves on having obtained it at that price. A lady well known at Petersburg, whose husband had a place at court, said publicly, in 1791, that she should set out with the prince, who had given her an estate of two thousand rubles a year, to go and pass the summer with him at Yasy.

He was eager to procure the most costly things of every kind. He had ten or a dozen violins of exorbitant price; one among others of six thousand rubles value: he never played on a violin in his life; and they were all either spoiled by the dust, or gnawed by the rats; for after the moment he bought them, he never saw them more. Somebody speaking before him of a library, prince Potemkin said he had one of greater value than the most learned man in Europe could shew; and, opening a book-case, there appeared several shelves of books, which, on being taken down, were

were seen to be nothing more than boxes gilt and lettered at the backs, and filled with bank-assignats, and rouleaux of imperials and ducats to an amazing amount *.

It has already been observed, that the prince was harsh towards the officers; but was condescending towards the soldiers, among whom he had entirely destroyed all discipline: accordingly he was beloved by them and detested by the former. It is pretended, that this conduct had been concerted between the empress and him, in order to put discord between the officer and the soldier, especially in the regiments of guards; both of them being aware, that revolutions are effected in Russia by the soldiery, and consequently that such a spirit should be kept up; that the officers might be sacrificed at the first signal.

The most extraordinary projects of future aggrandisement have been ascribed to him; as that of taking advantage of the influence he had over the troops for excluding from the throne the grand duke and his sons, on the death of the empress,

* There was something so whimsical in the character of this extraordinary person, that while he was living thus magnificently he rarely thought of paying his debts. When any one waited on him for money, he would say to Popof, his private secretary, "Why don't you pay that man?" at the same time, by a sign, giving him to understand the manner in which the creditor was to be treated. If he opened his hand, Popof gave the money. If he shut it, the creditor got nothing.

and

and of causing the eldest of the grand duchesses to be crowned: it is added, that his design was to marry her, or at any rate to have reigned in her name. The fondness he always shewed to hold up and heighten whatever the young princess said, to give it a consequence with the empress, might have given birth to this (to say the least of it) curious idea. Others pretend, that his intention was to become hospodar of Moldavia*; and we should be much disposed to adopt this opinion, without, however, rejecting the others. Nobody doubted that he had formed some plans of this nature. Potemkin had gained the good-will of the nobility of the country; he caressed them all, from the highest to the lowest; and every thing led

* Moldavia is bounded on the north and northeast by Poland, from which it is separated by the Dniestr, on the east by Bessarabia, on the south by Valakhia, and on the west by Transylvania: is about one hundred and eighty miles in its greatest length from north to south; and something less in breadth, from east to west. The river Pruth crosses it from north to south. The country has some very fertile lands, but a considerable part of the eastern division lies uncultivated, consisting chiefly of deserts; and the western is very mountainous. Its principal rivers are the Pruth and the Sereth. The inhabitants are of valakhian extraction, and profess the greek religion; but many of them are also mohammedans. Towards the close of the twelfth century, a valakhian colony came from Transylvania, and settled in this country. Their leader, named Bogden, established their civil and ecclesiastical government. He was the first prince of Moldavia, for which reason the country was originally called from him Bogdania

The

led to believe that these nobles, flattered by the officiousness and obliging manners of a man who, in general, was not lavish of his civilities, would have given him their voice. And it can as little be doubted that the empress would have supported his pretensions, because, on his death, she would have gained Moldavia, as she had already obtained the Crimea.

During this stay of four or five months, in 1791, at Petersburg, he expended upwards of one million two hundred thousand rubles. But the entertainment he now gave at his Tavritscheskoï palace * (since his death called the Pantheon), exceeded any thing of the sort that we read of in the tales of our youth. Crowned with laurels, and wearied with conquests, he hastened to the residence of his sovereign, to enjoy his triumph in the sun-shine of majesty, and for a moment to forget, in the circle of pleasures that awaited him, his bloody conflicts and the thousands of slain. A dark presentiment seemed hovering in his mind, that this would be the last moment he had

The increase of the power of the king of Hungary was a misfortune to this country; the inhabitants, after many severe struggles, being made tributary to that monarch in the fourteenth century. In the year 1280 the Turks first made an attempt upon Moldavia. This country has a prince, or voievode of its own, who is also styled hospodar, and is a tributary vassal to the ottoman porte. Yassy is the capital.

* The building whereof cost six hundred thousand rubles.

to pass in that magnificent theatre of his grandeur; and it was now his aim to enjoy that moment. He laid the plan of an entertainment which should give him the opportunity to present a tribute of gratitude at the feet of the exalted authors of his fortune in his own house, in the presence of the whole assembled court. This, like all his other plans, was extraordinary and great. A whole month was consumed in preparations: artists of all kinds were employed; whole shops and warehouses were emptied to supply the necessities of the occasion; several hundred persons were daily assembled in making previous rehearsals for the final execution; and each of these days was of itself a grand spectacle. At length the moment arrived, which had kept the whole public of the residence on the utmost stretch of expectation by the great preparations that were making for it. Notice had been given, that the empress and the imperial family would honour this day by their presence: the court, the foreign ministers, the nobility, and a great part of the people of condition in the city were invited. The company began to assemble in masquerade dresses at six in the evening. When the empress got into her carriage, on a signal being given, the treat for the populace was opened in the public place before the palace. High piles of clothes of all the various articles, lofty pyramids of eatables, and a competent

competent supply of liquors, were here surrendered to the general scramble.

On her majesty's entering the vestibule * of the Tauridan palace, the loud music suddenly struck up from the lofty gallery, resounding through the grand saloon and the spacious halls. The orchestra consisted of six hundred performers; and instruments and voices produced their alternate effects.—In a few minutes afterwards the empress advanced to the grand saloon, attended by the brilliant concourse, and took her seat upon a gentle elevation, decorated with transparent representations; the company divided among the colonades and into the boxes; and now began the second scene of this uncommon entertainment. Four-and-twenty couple of the most beautiful youths of both sexes, of noble families, among whom were also the grand dukes Alexander and Constantine, opened the dances with a quadrille. All were dressed in white, and only distinguishable by the colours of their girdles and scarves. The value of their dresses was estimated at ten millions of rubles. The music to which they danced was accompanied with singing; and the famous Le Picque concluded the scene with a solo.

* The description of this palace, without which the account of the entertainment would be incomplete, is before given in this volume.—The whole palace is now converted into barracks by the emperor Paul I.

The company now proceeded to another hall, hung with tapestry of the richest and most costly kind. Here stood an artificial elephant, decorated with emeralds and rubies. The Persian who conducted him struck upon a bell; and this was the signal for another change.

A curtain flew up as if by magic, and opened to view a magnificently decorated theatre, where two ballets and a dramatical piece afforded entertainment to the spectators with their extraordinary excellence. The most complete and charming music, interrupted by choirs of singers, numerous sets of fine dancers, a prodigious display of pomp, and the sight of an exceeding great diversity of national dresses in their most pleasing costume, now delighted every sense at once. When the play was over, the company divided into the several rooms of the palace. Whichever way the spectator turned his eye, the magnificent illumination struck him with amazement. The walls and the columns all seemed to glow with various coloured fire: large mirrors here and there judiciously fixed to the sides of the apartments, or made to form pyramids and grottoes, multiplied the effect of this singular exhibition, and even made the whole inclosure from top to bottom seem to be composed of sparkling stones.

A table, suitable to the magnificence of the festivity, now waited for the company. Six hundred

dred persons sat down to it; and the rest were entertained at sideboards. No other table furniture was seen upon the cloth, but gold and silver. Instead of the usual candlesticks, the table was lighted by various-coloured vases in which lamps were inserted. An astonishing number of servants and domestic officers, in superb dresses, were employed in waiting on the guests; and in every place any thing was to be had at the very first nod. Nothing that the most studied epicurism was able to procure could be asked for in vain.

The empress on this day, certainly the first time for many years, made an exception to her general rule, by staying till midnight, in order not to disturb the pleasure of the host and his company. On her entering the vestibule again, the choir of voices melodiously chanted a hymn to Catharine's praise. Her majesty, surprised and affected, was turning round to the prince, when, overpowered with his emotions, he fell on his knee, and, seizing her hand, bedewed it with tears. Some gloomy forebodings seemed to shake his whole frame; and his countenance was expressive of the sentiment, that this was the last time he should ever, on that spot, stammer out his gratitude to his magnanimous patroness.

Latterly, his spirits being wearied with the eternal round of dissipation and pleasure in which he had so long been engaged, and having nothing to hope for, or in any way to give agitation to his mind,

mind, the prince often experienced a languor and depression that made time a burthen to him. Being now in Petersburg, towards the beginning of the long winter-evenings, he would sit alone, order the table to be spread with a black velvet kept for the purpose; then, having his diamonds brought, he would continue for hours amusing himself, like a child, in placing them one after another, in the forms of circles, crosses, and fanciful figures, considering each before he placed it, and then admiring the situation of it or removing it to another. On one of these evenings the thought occurred to him to weigh his diamonds: they were found to amount to several pounds! the most remarkable were what composed an epaulette of brilliants, to the value of eight hundred and fifty thousand rubles; another of coloured stones of three hundred thousand; perfect rubies, weighing from thirty-five to thirty-six carats, of inestimable value; the picture of the empress, pendant to yellow and black diamonds, in imitation of the ribbon of the order of St. George, &c. He frequently amused himself by pouring his diamonds out of one hand into the other, as children play with little shells or dried peas. He would sometimes pass a couple of hours in biting his nails as he walked up and down his apartment, though there were a score of persons present. He has been justly accused of employing himself in frivolous matters; and the truth has even been exaggerated;

aggrated ; but it is certain that he had grand and extensive views, and that his death was a real loss to the empress.

Prince Potemkin was in the secret of all the plans adopted by Catharine, who regretted him the more, as he held the grand duke in awe. She lost him at a time when she reposed no confidence in any one, and was too far advanced in life to think of training up another man to business, which demands the practice of a number of years. Potemkin directed all matters relative to the army; it is not to be thence inferred that all went on well ; but all went on, and her majesty required nothing more. There was often a want of provisions, of forage, of every thing in his camp*. The hospitals might be considered as non-existent; but all this passed at the distance of fifteen-hundred or two thousand versts from the residence. The empress could not hear the complaints of all her subjects, and found it far easier to rely entirely on him, than to suppress abuses, perhaps difficult of reform, from the number of people that profited by them.

* His house at Petersburg exhibited the same disorder, and seemed to be under the same sort of management. It was no uncommon thing to pass through a suite of apartments without finding a single servant to take one's name : sometimes not a bit of bread or a drop of water was to be had in the house ; but there was always plenty of petit-pâtés and excellent champagne.

The prince had a thorough knowledge of his country and his countrymen; he would therefore, as was said before, put on a very different behaviour towards a young english or french officer from what he would use to a russian general; the former being seated beside him, while the other was kept standing, and did not venture over the sill of the door; knowing that the Russians, though ever so unsatisfied with this, or similar treatment, never express their discontent against a superior. It was from his own genius alone that he had seized the character of other nations; and it certainly shews a niceness of tact exceedingly rare, as he had never been out of Russia. But the greatest encomium that can be passed on the talents of prince Potemkin, is by saying, that, having ceased to be favourite, instead of falling, if not into disgrace, at least into neglect and oblivion, he was able to maintain himself for so many years, and even to his death, in the possession of a power entirely absolute; a power which was never balanced by that of any of the favourites his successors: he kept it complete and entire in a country so subject to sudden revolutions, and (what is worthy of particular remark) with a sovereign who cannot be accused of any defect of understanding and judgement, and of not reigning by herself. This, in the opinion of many, would alone be sufficient to evince, that prince Potemkin was a man of no ordinary stamp; and even that

that he was very far from it. He is justly commendable for having always patronised his friends, and for never having ruined any one, though assuredly he had both the means and the opportunity in his power.

Some time in the year 1787, he took it into his head to have Plutarch read to him, to which he listened with great attention. When they were come to the life of Agesilaus, and the account of his conquests, he interrupted his reader; and, after remaining thoughtful for some moments, he asked him: "Think you, that I could go, at some future period, to Constantinople?" To which the reader replied: "If the sovereign please there is no impossibility to prevent your going."—"That is enough," returned the prince; "and if any one should come to-day, and tell me that I could not go thither, I would shoot myself through the head." He had even meditated an attack upon China: preparations were actually made for taking possession of the Amoor at Nertshinsk, where the Russians have their gold and silver mines; and the chief difficulty he had to encounter was the want of timber. Nothing but his death put a stop to this expedition. It was his firm opinion, that a body of ten thousand Russians could march through China.

It is certain that he found the means of detaching France from Turkey, and of bringing her to concur with Russia, which certainly shews no

small degree of political dexterity, especially as he had to do with so political a people as the French. The news of the french revolution quite afflicted him. He was several times afterwards surprised in talking to himself on that subject, in broken sentences without connection, and with great gesticulation.

But we must now return to our history. After a stay of about five months at Petersburg, prince Potemkin quitted the residence, to return to the army. Satiated with pomp and grandeur, with triumphs and with pleasures, he was restless and uneasy every where; and his frequent sighs betrayed the gloom that overspread his mind *. He was satisfied neither with the flatteries of the courtiers, nor the bounties of his sovereign, nor with himself: and his irritation seemed to increase at the presence of the new favourite.

This favourite was Plato Zubof. Objects more important have hitherto detained us from speaking of him. It is necessary now to state briefly the causes of his elevation, and the disgrace of his predecessor.

* It is well known that prince Potemkin, on quitting Petersburg, in 1791, had a secret presentiment that he should never return: he said it over and over again. However, there was nothing marvellous in the matter. His manner of life, regular in no one respect, evidently tended to shorten his days: he was no more than fifty-two years of age; and his natural constitution seemed to warrant him a long course of life.

Momonof

Momonof was well enough liked by the empress; but he made her no adequate returns. Like Potemkin, not satisfied with the magnificent presents lavished on him by her majesty, he fraudulently extorted from her immense sums *. But he lived with her in the manner of a slave, the weight of whose chains were not the less felt for being of gold, and not as a lover, pleased with pleasing. His heart, however, was not insensible. Catharine, in the number of her maids of honour, had the daughter of prince Scherbatof, a lady young, handsome, and sprightly, and having withal a disposition to gallantry. Momonof was soon smitten by her charms, and had made himself agreeable to her. But his passion had not as yet passed the bounds of respect; when one day he happened to hear Potemkin extol the charms of princess Scherbatof. Momonof was thunderstruck. He knew the unlimited power of Potemkin: he knew that it was sufficient for him to form a desire for having it gratified: he therefore ran and

* As she advanced in age, the empress grew more parsimonious to her lovers. She gave Potemkin and Momonof permission to draw upon Strekalof, her private treasurer; and they were so licentious in the use of it, that the imperial coffers were soon indebted to the amount of five millions of rubles. Catharine, upon this, reprimanded Strekalof; who, in his justification, produced a heap of drafts from Potemkin and Momonof, mostly written on vile scraps of paper. On her mentioning it to Momonof, he turned the affair into a joke; and all was made up.

threw himself on his knees to princefs Scherbatof, and imparted to her the cause of his uneasiness. For his comfort and encouragement she promised to grant him what he was afraid of being deprived of by his rival; and shortly after he had additional reasons for dismissing his anxiety: Potemkin fet out for the army.

This intimacy subsisted a long time, and was known to all the court. Catharine alone perceived nothing of it. At length, however, by the jealousy of some of the courtiers, her eyes were opened; she was told that Momonof had not surrendered to her the whole of his heart, of which she soon after had evident proofs. However offended at this discovery, she thought it best to connive at it, at least for the present. This was during the summer of 1789. The court was at Tzariko-selo; and the daughter of count Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, had just been presented.

Catharine, laying hold of this opportunity, said to Momonof, that she intended he should marry the young countess* Bruce. Momonof implored her not to insist upon it. The empress

* In Russia and in all the North, the young ladies bear the same title with their parents. The young countess is now married to count Mouffin Poufshkin, who has added to his name that of Bruce. He is at present ambassador from Russia to the court of Naples.

desired

desired to know the reason of his reluctance. At this he was embarrassed: she insisted; and he fell at her feet, confessing that he had plighted his faith to princess Scherbaroff. The empress wanted no farther explanation: the two lovers were married next day, and set off for Mosco.

Momonof was bound by every tie of gratitude to Catharine for her bounties, and the extreme condescension she had always shewn him. But it was currently reported that he had the imprudence to mention to his wife the particulars of his interviews with the empress; and that she divulged them with a levity injurious to the sovereign. It was added that that princess repaid the indiscretion by an act of great severity. When Momonof and his lady were gone to rest, the master of the police at Mosco entered their apartment; and, after having shewn them an order from her majesty, he left them in the hands of six women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. Then the six women, or rather the six men dressed as women, seized the babbling lady, and having stripped her entirely of her night-clothes, exercised on her the discipline of flagellation with rods in the presence of Momonof, whom they forced to kneel down during the ceremony. When the chastisement was over, the police master re-entered the room and said: "This is the way the empress punishes a first indiscretion. For the second, people are sent to Siberia."

The very day of the marriage of Momonof, the post of favourite was conferred on Plato Zubof, an officer in the horse guards. Prince Potemkin heard with much concern that the choice of Catharine had fallen on Zubof. He made it the subject of a letter to her majesty, employing all sorts of arguments to induce her to change her lover. But from the first period of his elevation Zubof had rendered himself so agreeable that he was in no dread of a rival. The empress wrote to Potemkin, that so long as she had no just reasons to complain of Zubof, she should not resolve upon dismissing him. Notwithstanding this, Potemkin continued his importunities for some time. — “If “you see the empress,” said he to one of the courriers who carried his dispatches to court, “observe to her that I have teeth which give me “great pain, and that I shall not be easy till I “have got rid of them.” It was a clumsy play upon words: Zubof, in rufs, signifies teeth.

The death of the emperor Joseph II. * had left Catharine to contend with the Ottomans, reduced to her own forces alone. Leopold II. yielding to the solicitations of Prussia, and still more to the exigencies of his people, who were sinking under the pressure of an unjust and unfortunate war, was in haste to break off from Russia, and to conclude a separate peace with the porte.

* Joseph II. died the 20th of February 1790.

It was no longer Frederic II. that reigned in Prussia. Five years had elapsed since he had terminated his long and brilliant course *. Endowed with a resolute character and a flexible mind, he had improved them both by study and reflexion. The lessons he had imbibed from history rendered him at once a profound politician and an able general; his intercourse with the philosophers and fine writers of every age and nation had qualified him for taking a place among distinguished authors. While he was only prince royal, he seemed to aspire at the glory of the Antonines or a Marcus Aurelius: but no sooner was he seated on the throne than he took for his models an Alexander and a Philip. Returning victorious from a war which had threatened his ruin, he extended the limits of his dominions, and from the secondary power which fell to him by inheritance, he raised himself into one of the most authoritative potentates of Europe. To the titles of politician and conqueror, which he had already acquired, he now added that of legislator; and, by the code which bears his name, he merited in many respects the gratitude of his subjects. Disdainful of luxury from inclination, and fearful of it from æconomy, he founded his pride on the number of his soldiers. Laborious, vigilant, indefatigable, he was

* Frederic II. died the 17th of August 1786.

employed to the last moment of his life in the administration of his kingdom: but at the same time he shewed himself more jealous of strengthening and securing his power and of the prosperity of Prussia, than of the happiness of the Prussians. Did he live happily himself? It may be answered, No; since he was neither husband*, nor lover, nor father, and often suffered himself to be ruled by two tormenting passions, avarice and ambition. He was emulous of the surname of Great: he obtained it of the age in which he lived, and there is no doubt but it will be confirmed by posterity.

But though Frederic II. was no more, the same spirit still directed the cabinet of Berlin. Some time before Leopold made peace with the Turks, Frederic William had signed a treaty with them. Thus Catharine at once lost a defender, and was exposed to the probability of having soon a new enemy to contend with. That enemy however did not draw the sword against her, at which she was not the less incensed. He took advantage of the discontents in Poland for gaining a considerable influence in that country, and leagued himself to it by a new treaty. Under pretence of defending the Poles he caused his troops to enter their terri-

* It is well known, that, though he was married, he never cohabited with his wife.

tory; and, what perhaps occasioned still more heart-burning at the court of Russia, he took possession of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn.

The empress now began to see that her victories were ruinous, and that remote conquests might bring on the loss of the provinces which she possessed in Poland. In a word, she perceived the necessity of bringing about a peace; but she had too much pride to sue for it, and rather than that, she chose to continue fighting.

Her armies obtained still farther successes. Kutusof beat the combined troops of the Turks and Tartars at Babada*: prince Repnin, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, entirely routed seventy thousand Ottomans whom he met and engaged not far from Matzin†: Gudovitch, brother of him who had formerly been the favourite of Peter III. made himself master of the fortresses of Sudyuk-kaly and of Anapa, on the frontiers of the Krimea and the Kuban, where he took fourteen thousand prisoners, among whom was the sheik Manshour, the pretended prophet of whom mention has been already made.

* In the month of May, 1791. Babada is in Bulgaria on the right bank of the Danube, as well as Matzin.

† In the month of July 1791. This was the last battle of the war. It has been seen above, that, at the beginning of the same year, prince Gallitzin beat a body of Turks at the same place,

Great Britain, who, in revenge for the alliance concluded between France and Russia, had excited the Turks to declare war against the latter power, and had vainly been prodigal of her assistance in arms, ammunition, and counsel; Great Britain resolved to take advantage of the moment when the court of Petersburg was detaching itself from the French, to engage it in a connection with her.

After having apprised of her design the cabinets of Berlin and of the Hague, who had acted in concert with her from the beginning of the war, she eagerly proposed her mediation to the empress, on condition that in making peace that princess should consent to give up her conquests, and to take for the basis of the new arrangements the treaty of Kainardgi *.

Still maintaining the same character of haughty independence, which she had supported through the whole of the war, the empress, in the very last scene of it, seemed desirous to mortify rather than conciliate the allied powers: such at least was her behaviour to the british court. The cabinet of London had sent to Petersburg Mr. Fawkener, secretary to the privy-council, giving him in charge two propositions, whereof the most favourable to Russia was not to be produced un-

* It was what the three allied courts called, in diplomatic terms, the *status quo*.

less the other should not be accepted. Fawkener was not wanting in abilities as a negotiator: but was by no means a match for Catharine. Whether that princess had been secretly advertised by her emissaries, that the british agent had the power to make her a double proposal, or whether it was only matter of surmise, she resolved to avail herself of it. Determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, whatever it should cost her, in order that her armies might fall back into Poland, she received Mr. Fawkener with extreme affability. She admitted him to her table at Tzarisko-selo, placed him over against her, discoursed with him all dinner-time, and after rising from table talked with him again, artfully by turns giving him reason to apprehend the failure of his negotiation, and inspiring him with the hopes of its success; she at length so completely entangled him, that he had not the courage to propose any other than the most advantageous conditions.

About the same time with the arrival of that gentleman, a traveller*, who happened to be connected both by consanguinity and friendship with the illustrious leader of the opposition-party in the house of commons, appeared at the court of St. Petersburg. Whatever was the object of his visit, whether to collect for his friend more accurate information, such as a statesman ought to

* Mr. Adair.

use all due means of obtaining on so great a political question as that relating to the equipoise of the european powers, or purposes of mere curiosity concerning the court of a princess who made such a figure in the affairs of the world, his presence there was made by the empress an occasion of shewing a marked slight to the agent of the british ministry. Whenever she spoke to the latter at court, she always took care at the same time to place the former at her right hand, in the place of honour; and on the arrangement of the peace, the presents she conferred were precisely of the same kind to both, but of greater value, and more in number, to the friend and relation of Mr. Fox, whom, as an orator and a statesman, she had always admired.

Catharine, being thus made acquainted with the dispositions of England, caused a memorial to be delivered to the Danish minister, to prevail upon him to negotiate the preliminaries of peace with the cabinets of Berlin, of London, and of the Hague.

Count Bernstorff was in all respects worthy of being trusted with the mediation of so important a cause, and eagerly informed the three allied courts of the intention of Catharine; in consequence of which an accommodation between those powers and Russia was presently agreed on.

In pursuance of this accommodation, the three allied courts agreed to propose to the porte the terms

terms offered by the empress, and declared, that if the Turks would not accept of these conditions, they would abandon their cause, and leave them to prosecute alone the war against Russia.

A congress was assembled at Shiftovë; where the negotiators found at first some difficulty in coming to an agreement. Hence they removed to Galatch, and the preliminaries of peace were at length signed, the 9th of January 1792, by prince Repnin and the grand vizier. The definitive treaty, concluded at Yassy, soon after followed *.

1792. It has been calculated that in this war Austria lost one hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, and expended three hundred millions of florins. — Russia lost two hundred thousand men, five ships of the line, seven frigates, and four-score smaller vessels †; and expended two hundred millions of rubles. — The Turks lost three hundred and thirty thousand men, six ships of the line, four frigates, with several other vessels, and expended two hundred and fifty millions of piastres.

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume, No. IX.

† One ship of the line was taken in the Baltic; three perished by accident; six large frigates were taken, and near four-score armed vessels of inferior dimensions. — Russia lost in the Euxine a large frigate, commanded by captain Marshall; the Magdalene of 66 guns, captain Tisdale, driven by a gale of wind into the canal of Constantinople; and the Crimea of 40 guns, foundered in the same storm.

Sweden had expended seventy millions of rix dollars, and lost twelve ships of the line, three frigates, and forty smaller vessels of war *.

After signing the treaty, Bezborodko declared that the empress gave up her claim to the twelve millions of piastres which the porte had just stipulated to pay her as an indemnity for the expences of the war. The ottoman plenipotentiaries justly testified their admiration of an act of generosity so truly imperial.

It must not here be forgotten, that, while the formidable armament was fitting out by the court of London for the Baltic, to force the empress into a peace with the Turks, prince Nassau Siegen, then in high favour with her majesty, presented to her a project of marching an army through Bokhara to Kashmir, and thence to Bengal, to

* Six ships of the line and two frigates were captured; and six ships of the line and a frigate destroyed, as well as most of the forty smaller vessels. The swedish frigate the Venus, of 40 guns basely struck to the russian brigantine the Mercury of 22 guns commanded by captain Crown, who, being made captain of the Venus, took the swedish ship the Rameden, of 64 guns, after having just missed of taking the yacht Amphion, on board of which was the king of Sweden. Captain Crown came to Russia in 1788 and brought with him his lady, who was no less brave than handsome, and accompanied him on all his voyages. Catharine II. charmed with the anecdotes related of this heroine, had her introduced at court, and presented her with her portrait set with brilliants, and several other marks of her bounty.

drive

drive the English out of India. He pretended not however to be the author of it, having received it of a Frenchman named de St. Genie, by whom it was conceived and drawn up. This man proposed that the empress should publish a manifesto, declaring that she sent the army for the purpose of re-establishing the mogul on the throne of India, as a blind to the real object she had in view. De St. Genie assured her that few or no difficulties were to be apprehended in passing through Bokhara; but rather as the ostensible design was to restore to the throne of India a prince of their own religion, they would be friendly to the enterprise: however, at any rate, nothing was to be dreaded from a people so disunited among themselves, and who stand in awe of the Russians; adding, that she might lay her account in being joined in the north of India by the discontented from all parts.

As a farther inducement to this undertaking, de St. Genie affirmed, that there were known to be passes through the mountains, and that he could refer to persons who had been sent into the country by M. de Vergennes; at the same time he accompanied his project with a map accurately laid down of the several stations for the march of the army *.

Catharine testified her approbation of the plan: but it was treated with derision by prince Potem-

*. See Eton's Survey of the Turkish empire.

kin. Had the menaces of the british minister been prosecuted to open hostilities, from the temper she was in at that time with regard to his procedures, there is no saying what the empress would have left untried, if not brought to effect. However, for the present she contented herself with saying : " C'est un ministre de preparatifs " qui ne vient à bout de rien."

Prince Potemkin had not the good fortune to conclude the peace between Russia and the porte. He had repaired to the congress of Yassy : but, being soon after attacked with an epidemical fever which was then rife at that place, he was unable to attend much to the negotiations that were carrying on. As soon as the empress had intelligence that he was sick, she sent off to him two of the most experienced physicians at Petersburg *. He disdained their advice, and would follow no regimen. He carried even his intemperance to an uncommon height, his ordinary breakfast was the greater part of a smoke-dried goose from Hamburgh, slices of hung-beef or ham, drinking with it a prodigious quantity of wine and Dantzic-liqueurs, and afterwards dining with equal voracity. He never controlled his appetites in any kind of gratification. He frequently had his favourite sterlet-soup, at seasons when that fish is so enormously dear, that this soup alone, which might be considered

* The doctors Tinmann and Maffot.

only as the overture to his dinner, stood him in three hundred rubles. Having mentioned his sterlet-soup, it is impossible to refrain from relating an anecdote on that subject here. Being at Yassy, the prince had promised some of the women that went about with him every where, and formed his court, a soup of this kind; or perhaps, in one of those whims which were so common with him, he had a mind to it himself; but, as the capital maker of it was at Petersburg, he dispatched a major to travel post, with orders to have a large tureen of it made: which he did accordingly, and brought it with him, well luted. Now let the reader judge of the expence this fancy put him to: the cook, as we may imagine, made a greater quantity of it than was wanted for the prince, and ate the remainder with his friends*; nay, we may be sure that he ate it better than the prince, to whom it must have come somewhat less fresh, after having travelled near two thousand versts. This anecdote may likewise serve as a specimen of the business in which majors were sometimes employed by him, and consequently of the consideration in which they must have been held. He has frequently sent his officers from the Crimea or from Krementschuk to Petersburg, and even to Riga, for oysters or china-oranges, on their first arrival at those ports.

* It was by one of those friends that the story got abroad.

With this sort of diet it is no wonder that he perceived his distemper to be daily gaining ground, he thought, however, to get well by removing from Yassy. Accordingly he resolved to set out for Nicolayef, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingul with the Bogue. Scarcely had he gone three leagues of his journey when he found himself much worse. He alighted from his carriage in the midst of the highway, threw himself on the grass, and died * under a tree, in the arms of the countess Branicka, his favourite niece.

At first a report was spread, as usual on the death of men of extraordinary character, that the prince

* Prince Potemkin died the 15th of October 1791, at the age of 52. From Yassy his remains were transported to Kherfon, where they were inhumed, and the empress allotted a hundred thousand rubles for the erection of a mausoleum over them.— Having often had occasion to speak of the dignities and the titles of this extraordinary personage, we insert an abridgment of them here; Knight of the principal orders of Prussia, of Sweden, of Poland, and of all the orders of Russia; field-marshal, commander in chief of all the armies of Russia, chief general of the cavalry; grand admiral of the fleets of the Euxine, of the sea of Azof, and of the Caspian; senator and president of the college of war; governor-general of Ekatarinossaf and of Taurida; adjutant-general and actual chamberlain to the empress: inspector-general of the armies; colonel of the preobajensky guards; chief of the corps of horse guards; colonel of the regiment of cuirassiers of his name, of the dragoons of Petersburg, and the grenadiers of Ekatarinossaf; chief of all the manufactories of arms and the foundaries of cannon; grand hetman of the kozaks, &c.

had

had been poisoned. His body, on being brought to Yassy, was therefore opened, but not the smallest indication was discoverable that might justify such a suspicion.

The name of Potemkin will long hold a conspicuous place in the annals of Russia. Nature, in order to render him remarkable in every point of view, had given him a gigantic stature, and a portion of bodily strength, such as, in former times, excited astonishment in a Hercules and a Theseus. When first beheld, he had something savage in his appearance, which exhibited an extraordinary mixture of rude and of cultivated nature. His look was animated, lively, and piercing; his countenance, fine, pliant, and lofty, bespoke the head of a Richelieu or a Mazarin, on the robust shoulders of a savage. Prone to taciturnity, and eager to listen, his silence was the silence of thought and reflection. Active, indefatigable, turbulent, bold, and discreet, with a capacity more comprehensive than just, he was capable of undertaking and of achieving the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. He paid little attention to the opinions of a world which he despised; and his passions acknowledged neither restraint nor limit, because his heart was destitute of morality and devoid of principle. His mind was a composition of raw genius, boundless ambition, a thirst of independence, a love of sway,

and of all noble and of all low passions. He was a wolf holden by a single chain, but that chain was in the hand of Catharine.

As to what farther might be said of prince Potemkin, we shall content ourselves with inserting here the picture drawn of him by M. L. P. Ségur *, who lived a long time in habits of intimacy with him.

“ Prince Gregory Alexandrovitch Potemkin was one of the most extraordinary men of his times ; but in order to have played so conspicuous a part, he must have been in Russia, and have lived in the reign of Catharine II. In any other country, in any other times, with any other sovereign, he would have been misplaced ; and it was a singular stroke of chance that created this man for the period that tallied with him, and

* Formerly ambassador at Petersburg, not less distinguished for his literary than his political talents. Le comte de Ségur wrote under the empress's picture, just after her return from the Krim, the following lines :

Reconnois vers le nord l'aimant qui nous attire,
Cet heureux conquérant, profond législateur,
Femme aimable, grand homme, & que l'envie admire,
Qui parcourt ses états, y verse le bonheur.
Maitre en l'art de regner, savante en l'art d'écrire,
Rependant la lumière, écartant les erreurs ;
Si le sort n'avoit pu lui donner un empire,
Elle auroit eu toujours un trône dans nos cœurs.

brought

brought together and combined all the circumstances with which he could tally.

“ In his person were collected the most opposite defects and advantages of every kind. He was avaricious and ostentatious, despotic and popular, inflexible and beneficent, haughty and obliging, politic and confiding, licentious and superstitious, bold and timid, ambitious and indiscreet. Lavish of his bounties to his relations, his mistresses, and his favourites, yet frequently paying neither his household nor his creditors. His consequence always depended on a woman; and he was always unfaithful to her. Nothing could equal the activity of his mind, nor the indolence of his body. No dangers could appal his courage; no difficulties force him to abandon his projects. But the success of an enterprise always brought on disgust.

“ He wearied the empire by the number of his posts and the extent of his power. He was himself fatigued with the burthen of his existence; envious of all that he did not do, and sick of all that he did. Rest was not grateful to him, nor occupation pleasing. Every thing with him was desultory; business, pleasure, temper, carriage. In every company he had an embarrassed air, and his presence was a restraint on every company. He was morose to all that stood in awe of him, and caressed all such as accosted him with familiarity.

“ Ever promising, seldom keeping his word, and never forgetting any thing. None had read less than he ; few people were better informed. He had talked with the skilful in all professions, in all the sciences, in every art. None better knew how to draw forth and appropriate to himself the knowledge of others. In conversation he would have astonished a scholar, an artist, an artisan, and a divine. His information was not deep, but it was very extensive. He never dived into a subject, but he spoke well on all subjects.

“ The inequality of his temper was productive of an inconceivable oddity in his desires, in his conduct, and in his manner of life. One while he formed the project of becoming duke of Courland ; at another he thought of bestowing on himself the crown of Poland. He frequently gave intimations of an intention to make himself a bishop or even a simple monk. He built a superb palace, and wanted to sell it before it was finished. One day he would dream of nothing but war ; and only officers, Tartars, and kozaks, were admitted to him : the next day he was busied only with politics ; he would partition the ottoman empire, and put in agitation all the cabinets of Europe. At other times, with nothing in his head but the court, dressed in a magnificent suit, covered with ribbons presented him by every potentate,

tentate, displaying diamonds of extraordinary magnitude and brilliance, he was giving superb entertainments without any occasion.

“ He was sometimes known for a month, and in the face of all the town, to pass whole evenings at the apartments of a young female, seeming to have alike forgot all business and all decorum. Sometimes also, for several weeks successively, shut up in his room with his nieces and several men of his intimates, he would lounge on a sofa, without speaking, playing at chess, or at cards, with his legs bare, his shirt collar unbuttoned, in a morning gown, with a thoughtful front, his eyebrows knit, and presenting to the view of strangers who came to see him, the figure of a rough and squalid kozak.

“ All these singularities often put the empress out of humour, but rendered him more interesting to her. In his youth he had pleased her by the ardour of his passion, by his valour, and by his masculine beauty. Being arrived at maturity, he charmed her still by flattering her pride, by calming her apprehensions, by confirming her power, by cherishing her fancies of oriental empire, the expulsion of the barbarians, and the restoration of the grecian republics.

“ At eighteen, an under-officer in the horse-guards, on the day of the revolution, he persuaded his corps to take arms, and presented
to

to Catharine his cockade as an ornament for her sword. Soon after, become the rival of Orlof, he performed for his sovereign whatever the most romantic passion could inspire. He put out his eye to free it from a blemish which diminished his beauty. Banished by his rival, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. A successful lover, he quickly shook off the hypocritical farce, whose catastrophe held out to him the prospect of an obscure disaster. He himself gave favourites to his mistress, and became her confidant, her friend, her general, and her minister.

“ Panin was president of the council, and was a stickler for the alliance of Prussia. Potemkin persuaded his mistress, that the friendship of the emperor would be of more use to her in realising her plans against the Turks. He connected her with Joseph II. and thereby furnished himself with the means of conquering the Crimea and the country of the Nogay Tartars, which depended upon it. Restoring to these regions their sonorous and ancient names, creating a maritime force at Kherfon and Sevastopol, he persuaded Catharine to come and admire herself this new scene of his glory. Nothing was spared for rendering this journey renowned to the latest posterity. Thither were conveyed, from all parts of the empire, money, provisions, and horses. The high-

highways were illuminated. The Borysthenes was covered with magnificent galleys. A hundred and fifty thousand soldiers were newly equipped. The kozaks were brought together: the Tartars were disciplined. Deserts were peopled for the occasion; and palaces were raised in the trackless wild. The nakedness of the plains of the Crimea was disguised by villages built on purpose, and enlivened by fireworks. Chains of mountains were illuminated. Fine roads were opened by the army. Howling wildernesses were transformed into english gardens. The king of Poland came to pay homage to her who had crowned him, and who afterwards struck him from the throne. The emperor Joseph II. came himself to attend the triumphal progress of the empress Catharine; and the result of this brilliant journey was another war, which the English and the Prussians impolitically instigated the Turks to undertake, and which was only a fresh instrument to the ambition of Potemkin, by affording him an occasion to conquer Otchakof, which remained to Russia, and to obtain the grand ribbon of St. George, the only decoration that was wanting to his vanity. But these latter triumphs were the term of his life. He died in Moldavia, almost by a sudden stroke; and his death, lamented by his nieces and by a small number of friends, concerned only his rivals, who were eager to divide his

his spoils, and was very soon followed by a total oblivion.

“ Like the rapid passage of those shining meteors which astonish us by their lustre, but are empty as air, Potemkin began every thing, completed nothing, disordered the finances, disorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with other deserts. The fame of the empress was increased by his conquests. The admiration they excited was for her; and the hatred they raised, for her minister. Posterity, more equitable, will perhaps divide between them both the glory of the successes and the severity of the reproaches. It will not bestow on Potemkin the title of a great man; but it will mention him as an extraordinary person: and, to draw his picture with accuracy, he might be represented as a real emblem, as the living image, of the russian empire.

“ For, in fact, he was colossal like Russia. In his mind, as in that country, were cultivated districts and desert plains. It also partook of the asiatic, of the european, of the tartarian, and the kozak; the rudeness of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the surface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloisters; an outside of civilization, and many traces of barbarism. In a word, if we might hazard so bold a metaphor, even his two eyes, the one
open,

open, and the other closed, reminded us of the Euxine always open, and the northern ocean, so long shut up with ice.

“ This portrait may appear gigantic : but those who knew Potemkin will bear witness to its truth. That man had great defects : but without them, perhaps, he would neither have got the mastery of his sovereign, nor that of his country. He was made by chance precisely such as he ought to be for preserving so long his power over so extraordinary a woman.”

C H A P. XVI.

State of the court of Petersburg at the death of prince Potemkin. — Insurrection of Kosciusko. — Last partition of Poland. — Assassination of Gustavus III. — Death of Leopold II. — French emigrants in Russia. — Of Plato Zubof and his brothers. — Treaty concluded with Great Britain. — Conspiracy of Armfeldt. — Journey of Gustavus Adolphus II. to St. Petersburg. — Conquests in Persia. — Death of Catharine II. — Statement of the presents that were received by her favourites. — Forces, expenditure, and revenues of Russia. — 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796.

THE empress, when death had ravished Lankoï from her, shut herself up in her apartment; and, giving way to her grief, was so indifferent to the world, that she was willing to die of inanition. On hearing of the death of Potemkin, she likewise shut herself up; but it was only for employing herself in the administration of the empire. She was busy for fifteen hours together, and divided among her ministers the direction of the affairs which had belonged to Potemkin.

Count Bezborodko was sent to the congress at Yassy, and concluded the peace, as related in the fore-

foregoing chapter ; and at his return, being at the head of the college of foreign affairs, he at first possessed a very extensive influence.

The favourite, Plato Zubof, who till now had been an utter stranger to business, was desirous of bearing a part in the ministry, and of taking on himself the direction. On this subject he asked advice of the intriguing Markof, who soon became his flatterer, and readily undertook to be his guide in the career of politics. Markof was recompensed for it by the entire confidence of the favourite and that of the sovereign. They formed their junto, in which they treated of the most important affairs, and from which they excluded Bezborodko ; who, without being precisely disgraced, lost considerably of his influence *.

It was in one of these meetings, composed of Zubof, Markof, the minister at war Nicolai Soltikof, and some others, that the annihilation of Poland, long since proposed by Catharine, was resolved on. That princess wished for it as a gratification at once to her pride and her vengeance. Her favourites and her greedy ministers had been promoting it with great assiduity, in the hopes of obtaining a share in the rich spoils of the unhappy Poles.

* Till Zubof, the favourites had never been publicly employed in state affairs ; and it is the general opinion that it would have been more advantageous for those affairs, if they had been made to wait for his successor.

The empress could never forgive that nation for either the act of the diet in 1788*, or the alliance of Prussia accepted in contempt of her own, or, above all, the constitution of 1791†. Big with these ideas of revenge, she gave orders to Bulgakof, her minister at Warsaw, solemnly to declare war against Poland.

The diet being assembled, received this declaration with a majestic calmness, which was rapidly succeeded by the generous enthusiasm excited by the ardour of self-defence. The sentiments of the diet were diffused over all the nation. The king himself was possessed by them, or rather pretended to be so; and the Poles had the weakness to believe, that, having abandoned his former servility to Russia, and his customary indolence, he was becoming the defender of liberty. An army was collected in haste, and the command of it given to prince Joseph Poniatofsky, whose inexperience and frivolous pursuits were but ill-suited to the management of so weighty a charge.

The Poles could have opposed the designs of Catharine with an army of fifty-thousand men: but they never yet could be brought to unite their forces; and their different corps were soon after pressed between an army of eighty thousand Russians, who fell back from Bessarabia upon the

* Which abrogated the constitution dictated by violence in 1775.

† Decreed at Warsaw the 3d of May.

territory which extends along the Bogue, another of ten thousand collected in the environs of Kief, and a third of thirty thousand, which had penetrated into Lithuania.

We shall not here attempt to draw the picture of the various battles that drenched the plains of Poland with blood; and which, notwithstanding some advantages obtained by the Poles, consumed the greater part of their troops. It was then that Thaddeus Kosciuszko *, who as yet was nothing more than one of the lieutenants of young Joseph Poniatofsky, displayed talents that justly obtained him the confidence of the nation, the hatred of the Russians, and the esteem of Europe.

During all this time, Catharine, not trusting alone to the power of her own arms, had been negotiating with unremitted assiduity. She proposed the definitive partition of Poland to Frederic-William, who was undoubtedly no less desirous of it than herself. She secretly won over to her views the two brothers Kassakofsky, the hetman Branicky, Rejevusky, and particularly Felix Potocky †, who perhaps, while he was flattering himself with the hopes of mounting the throne of Poland, became only the slave of Russia. In a word, she insisted that Stanislaus Augustus should

* We have been told by a polish gentleman, that this name should be written Koschiesky.

† He put himself at the head of the confederation of Targoviska in favour of the Russians.

make a public declaration, that it was necessary to yield to the superiority of the russian arms.

That monarch had the deplorable courage to submit himself to this indignity : but he was not on that account treated by the empress with greater indulgence *.

1793. The confederation of the partisans of Russia assembled at Gródno, and had the humi-

* Stanislaus Augustus departed this life at St. Petersburg, whither he had been invited by the emperor Paul, and where he lived in a sort of regal state in the magnificent marble palace on the quay of the Néva ; having assigned him for his chamberlain the same Stackelberg who had treated him with so much insolence while ambassador at Warsaw. A letter from Petersburg, of the 20th of February, 1798, acquaints us with the following circumstances attending his death : he had for several days complained of a head-ach ; but in consequence of the use of medicine, on the 11th he found himself much better and went to the window, to observe the degree of cold indicated by the thermometer, when he felt himself suddenly seized with a violent pain in the head, and great feebleness and illness.

His physician in waiting, privy-counsellor Bockler, and his chaplain Yurevitch, hastened to his assistance. He was conveyed to bed ; and recourse was had to bleeding and blisters ; but in vain. He requested his chaplain to give him absolution, and wished to repeat with him the penitential psalms ; but his speech soon failed. His majesty then received the general absolution and the sacrament of extreme unction.

About midnight he appeared somewhat better ; but, as the morning approached, grew continually weaker, till about eight in the morning of the 12th of February, when he breathed his last.

liation

liation to see the russian general proudly seating himself under the canopy of the throne which he was about to overturn. The russian minister at the same time published * a manifesto, in which he declared that his sovereign would incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered. The king of Prussia, in concert with Catharine, had already marched an army into Poland.

The Russians, dispersed about the provinces of that kingdom, committed depredations and ravages of which history furnishes but few examples. Warsaw became likewise the theatre of their excesses. The russian general Igelftroëm, who governed all that city, connived at the disorders of his soldiers, and made the wretched inhabitants feel the whole weight of his arrogance and barbarity. The defenders of Poland had been obliged to disperse †. Their property was confiscated; their families reduced to servitude. Goaded by so many calamities, they once more took the resolution to free their country from the oppression of the Russians. Some of them assembled, and sent an invitation to Kosciusko to come and put himself at their head.

* The 9th of April.—This minister was called Sievers.

† Some of them were even arrested; and Bonneau the french secretary of legation, was carried off and conducted to Siberia.

That general had retired to Leipzig, with Hugh Kolontay, Zajonchek, and Ignatius Potocky, a man of great knowledge and sagacity, a sincere friend to his country, and in all respects the opposite to his cousin Felix. These four Poles hesitated not a moment in giving their approbation to the resolution adopted by their honest countrymen: but they were sensible that, in order to succeed, they must begin by giving liberty to the peasants, who till then had been treated in Poland like beasts of burthen.

Kosciusko and Zajonchek repaired, with all expedition, to the frontiers of Poland. The latter proceeded to Warsaw, where he had conferences with the chiefs of the conspirators. A banker, named Kapustas, a bold and artful man, made himself responsible for the inhabitants of the capital. He saw likewise several officers, who declared their detestation of the russian yoke. All, in short, was ripe for an insurrection, when the russian commanders, to whom Kosciusko's presence on the frontiers had given umbrage, forced him to postpone it for a time.

To deceive the distrust of the Russians, Kosciusko went into Italy, and Zajonchek repaired to Dresden, whither Ignatius Potocky and Kolontay had retired, but all at once Zajonchek appeared again at Warsaw. The king himself impeached him to the russian general Igelfstroem, who had a conference with him, and ordered him to quit the
polish

polish territory. No alternative now remained for him but to proceed immediately to action, or to abandon the enterprise altogether. Zajonchek resolved on the former.

1794. Kosciusko was recalled from Italy, and arrived at Cracow, where the Poles received him as their deliverer. In spite of the orders of the Russians, colonel Madalinsky pertinaciously refused to license his regiment. Some other officers had joined him. Kosciusko was proclaimed general of this little army *; and the act of insurrection was almost immediately published †.

Three hundred peasants, armed with scythes, came and ranged themselves under the standard of Kosciusko. That general soon found himself faced by seven thousand Russians, who were put to flight after a vigorous resistance.

On hearing at Warsaw of the success of Kosciusko, the Russian general Igelftrœm caused all those to be arrested whom he suspected to have any concern in the insurrection: but these measures served only the more to irritate the conspirators. The rebellion broke out ‡. Two thousand Russians were put to the sword. Their general, being besieged in his house, requested permission to capitulate; and, profiting by the delay

* They had three thousand infantry and twelve hundred horse.

† The 24th of March.

‡ The 18th of April.

that was granted him, he escaped to the prussian camp, which lay at a little distance from Warsaw.

Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, followed the example of Warsaw: but the triumph of the insurgents was there less terrible. Colonel Yazinsky, who was at their head, conducted himself with so much skill, that he took all the Russians prisoners without shedding a drop of blood. The inhabitants of the cantons of Chelm and of Lublin declared themselves also in a state of insurrection, and were imitated by three polish regiments, who were employed in the service of the Russians.

Some of the principal partisans of Russia, the hetman Kaffokofsky, the bishop his brother, Zabiello, Ozarofsky, and Ankvitch, were sentenced to be hanged, the first at Vilna, and the others at Warsaw.

Kosciusko exerted himself to the utmost to augment his army. He got recruits among the peasants; and, to inspire them with more emulation, he wore their dress, ate with them, and distributed encouragements among them; but those men, too long degraded in Poland, were not yet deserving of the liberty that was offered them. They distrusted the intentions of the nobles, who, on their side, for the most part lamented the loss of their absurd prerogatives.

Stanislaus Augustus and his partisans augmented still further the ill-will of the nobles, by representing to them the intentions of Kosciusko as disastrous

trous to them, and by caballing continually in favour of Russia.

In the mean time the empress, not satisfied with augmenting the number of her troops in Poland, had sent her best generals thither.

After several battles, in one of which Frederic-William, who had advanced to support the Russians, fought at the head of his troops, against Kosciuszko, who was striving to prevent the junction of the Russian generals, Suvarof and Ferfen, he was attacked by the latter at Macieyovitch *. His talents, his valour, his desperation, were unable to prevent the Poles from yielding to numbers. Almost the whole of his army were either cut to pieces or obliged to lay down their arms. Himself being covered with wounds, fell senseless on the field of battle, and was taken prisoner.

All who were able to escape from the conquerors went and shut themselves up in the suburbs of Praga †, whither they were pursued by general Suvarof. The siege of Praga continued not long. On the morrow of his arrival ‡, the dauntless Suvarof gave the assault; and, having made himself master of the suburb, put to the sword, not only the soldiers, but all the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age. Twenty thousand in-

* The 4th of October.

† It is a suburb of Warsaw, or rather a small town situate on one side of that capital.

‡ The 2d of November.

nocent persons fell victims to the fury of the russian general. Covered with the blood of these unfortunate people, the barbarian entered Warsaw in triumph *. Some bands of insurgents, who were dispersed in the provinces, made all possible haste to surrender. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin divided at their pleasure the remainder of unhappy Poland; and the cruel courtiers of the empress shared amongst them the possessions of a great number of the proscribed. Stanislaus Augustus was sent to Grodno, where he was condemned to live obscurely on a pension that was granted him by the empress; while Repnin, appointed governor of the usurped provinces, ostentatiously displayed the pomp of a sovereign.

Zajonchek and Kolontay had escaped to the austrian territory, where the rights of hospitality were violated in their persons, and they were detained in captivity. Kosciuszko, Ignatius Potocky, Kapustas, and some others, were transported to Petersburg, and shut up in dungeons †. Among these unfortunate men was the young poet Niemcewitch, distinguished for his valour and his ta-

* On being informed of this success, the empress raised Suvarof to the rank of fieldmarshal, and wrote to him: "You know that I never advance any one out of rotation. I am incapable of doing an injury to a senior officer: but it is you who have just made yourself fieldmarshal by the conquest of Poland."

† They were afterwards confined in the palace that had formerly belonged to Gregory Orlof, situate on the Moïka.

lents, the friend of Kosciusko, wounded and made prisoner with him. The blood he had lost for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemchevitch. He had composed verses against her *, in all the boldness and energy of satire. Her majesty had him at first confined in the citadel of Petersburg, and afterwards sent him to Schlusselfburg, where he was treated with great severity.

All whom Catharine thought guilty did not experience from her the same severity. She knew when to forbear from chastising when the consequences might become dangerous to her. Nay, she could occasionally so far dissemble as to reward in public those whom she secretly wished to punish. When, on the signing of the preliminaries for peace at Galatch, prince Repnin, thinking he had reason to complain of the empress and Potemkin, retired to Mosco, all the malcontents who lived in that capital, silently looked up to him as their chief, and the principal of them rallied around him †.

* * There appeared at Warsaw, not only pieces in verse and prose, but caricature prints, in which the empress was very much insulted.

† The principal malcontents were the counts Scheremetof, Apraxin, Tolstoï, the princes Igor and Vassilly Dolgoruky, prince Mentshikof, lieutenant-general Bibikof, brother to him who fell in an army that acted against Pugatshof, Andrèy Lapukhine, and some others.

Repnin

Repnin had adopted the errors of a sect of illuminati, who, under the appellation of Martinistes, had for some time infested the north of Germany. He formed a club, which he called by the name of these fanatics, admitting of it only such as he knew to imbibe thoroughly his indignation against the court. It is pretended that the object of these malcontents was to effect a reform in the government, and to oblige Catharine to restore the crown to her son. However this be, that princess was soon informed, by her emissaries, that the Martinists of Mosco were not wholly employed in the extravagant reveries of the sect. Several of them were suddenly arrested, turned out of their places, stripped of the marks of their dignities, and sent into banishment, some to Siberia, and others to their estates. All their papers were likewise burnt, in order, if possible, to extinguish the least traces of a plot.

Repnin, on being sent for to court, thought himself undone: but the empress, who hated him in her heart, received him with a smiling countenance, was prodigal of her commendations on him, and appointed him governour of Livonia, whence, after the last partition of Poland, he was made governour-general of Lithuania. Upon this, Repnin went to reside at Grodno, whither the weak and unfortunate Stanislaus Augustus was already come.

The

The account of the bloody revolution effected by the brave Kosciuszko has obliged us to defer the recital of several events: we shall here bring them under review.

Impatient to see Gustavus III. set out upon his chivaleresque and perilous enterprize, Catharine gave orders to count Stackelberg, her minister at Stockholm, to promise * that monarch twelve thousand russian soldiers, and an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand rubles, to assist him in restoring to the king of France his entire authority. Certainly it was not the intention of the empress to keep this promise, which she always found means to elude. She wanted only to accelerate the moment of the confederation of kings, and to excite her rivals to mutual destruction.

But Gustavus had not time to go and consummate the ruin of his country on the frontiers of France. The nobles of Sweden were for the most part always discontented with the revolution of 1772, of which they gave a proof in refusing to fight at Frederiksham. By pardoning their defection, Gustavus only emboldened them, and served the Russians who were exciting them perpetually against him. Three young men † at this time resolved to put him to death, and drew lots for the infamous honour of making the first attack on

* In the month of October, 1791.

† The count von Horn, Ribbing, and Ankarström.

his person. A masquerade, at which Gustavus was to be present, was in favour of their horrid purpose. Here the three conspirators met. Ankarström seized the moment when a groupe of masks surrounded Gustavus, and fired a pistol * into the small of his back. The swedish monarch expired within a few days after †. His son, Gustavus Adolphus, a young prince, aged fourteen years, succeeded to the crown; and the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania.

A short time previous to this, the emperor Leopold II. died at Vienna ‡, in a manner less shocking, but almost as sudden, leaving the imperial diadem, the archduchy of Austria, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, to his son Francis II.

The death of two chiefs of the league of kings against France was a distressing circumstance to the french emigrants, who fled in great numbers to Petersburg, to apply for assistance in troops, which the empress failed not to promise, but was too wise to grant.

* Ankarström was armed with a dentelated poignard and a pair of pistols charged with several pieces of balls, bullets, and little nails. One shot of the pistol completed the dreadful act.

† The 29th of March, 1791. He had been assassinated in the night of the 15th of the same month.

‡ The 1st of March, 1791.

Her

Her majesty, however, took a great interest in the revolution that had taken place in France; apprehensive lest the principles upon which it was effected might find their way into Russia, and there occasion some combustion subversive of the throne. To all the French who signified that they were attached to their old form of government, she gave a welcome reception; while she severely proscribed the rest. The ambassador of France quitted Petersburg: but as Catharine, while she censured the opinions of that minister, could not refrain from doing justice to his virtues, to his talents, and the amenity of his manners, she said to him, on his taking leave of her: "I am an aristocrat; for I must carry on my business." A little while after she recalled the ambassador whom she had at Paris. She refused access to her court to the chargé d'affaires * of France, and prohibited her ministers from conferring with him. Her animosity against the French extended even to colonel l'Harpe, who was employed in the education of the two young princes Alexander and Constantine, and who, as a Swiss and a philosopher, bore in his heart the love of liberty. That estimable and amiable man had often been subject to attacks from the hatred of the emigrants; but his prudence, and the well-

* Genet.

founded respect that was shewn him by the grand duke, supported him against their intrigues*.

Catharine obliged all the French that were in her dominions to take an oath of allegiance to the pretender to the crown of France, and to swear an immortal hatred to the french republic. Those who refused were allowed only an interval of six weeks to settle their affairs, and were afterwards rigorously forced to quit the territory of Russia, where the greater part left behind them debts, which their creditors have probably long since regarded as desperate†.

The court of Petersburg was at this time divided into two parties; the one having at its head the old count Ostermann, the Vorontzofs, and Bezborodko, who endeavoured to shelter themselves under the name of the grand duke, but whom that prince had always the prudence not to avow, and of whose intrigues he either was, or at least

* The principal emigrants at that time in Petersburg were, count Esterhazy, Bombelles, Saint-Priest, Choiseul-Gouffier, M. Calonne, the count d'Artois, Roger Damas, d'Escars, the swiss colonel de Roll, the bishop of Arras, and Senec de Meilhan. It is a curious fact, that when the son of count Esterhazy appeared at court, the empress caused the boy to sing the patriotic songs of the French; and thus the hermitage sometimes resounded with the air *ça ira* and the *carmagnole*.

† For the principal passages of the ukase published on this occasion, the reader is referred to the appendix at the end of the volume, No. X.

feigned to be ignorant. The other party was that of Zubof, Markof, and Nicolay Ivanovitch Soltikof, devoted to the favourite*.

This favourite was besides supported by his father, his three brothers, and his sister, all amply provided for by the bounties of the sovereign. It is necessary here to give some account of that family.

The father of the favourite Zubof had been vice-governor of a province, and in that quality entrusted with the administration of the finances, the magazines, and the manufactories dependent on it. These establishments were burnt, not without suspicion of its having been done for the same purposes as many other fires have happened in Russia, namely, for saving the managers the trouble of balancing their accounts. However that be, this conflagration was the means of procuring the vice-governor an annual income of sixty thousand rubles. After the elevation of his son, Zubof obtained the important place of procureur-general of the senate; in which office he was guilty of so much malversation, that even his son was so ashamed of him, that he resolved to remove him, and procured him the appointment of senator in one of the departments of Mosco, where he died, leaving behind him an immense fortune.

* Count Nicolay Ivanovitch Soltikof is now president of the college of war.

Nicolay Zubof, eldest son of this extortioner, was a man much esteemed. He served in Poland, where he distinguished himself by his bravery, and married the daughter of field-marshal Suvarof.

Valerian Zubof, brigadier and major of the guards, was also an officer in the army in Poland, where he had a leg carried away by a cannon-ball. He, for some time, shared the favour of the sovereign with his brother Plato, and afterwards had the command of the army that marched against the Persians.

Alexander Zubof, chamberlain to the empress, a man without talents, but ambitious, was son-in-law of the rich prince Vasemskoï, who had united in his person the three lucrative posts of procureur-general of the senate of Petersburg, minister of finance, and minister of the interior.

Lastly, Plato Zubof, the lover of Catharine, decorated with the title of prince, and grand-master of the artillery, enjoyed all the authority formerly possessed by Orlof, Lanskoï, and Potemkin. Ministers, generals, ambassadors, were seen resorting to the toilette of this favourite *,
to

* * One example may suffice to shew the reverence in which the favourite is held by the Russians. Zubof kept a little monkey, of that species called the Sapajou, full of tricks and very troublesome, who was offensive to every body, and whom every body caressed, in order to please his master. One day,
this

to pay humbly their court to him, sure that these acts of condescending complaisance were the most effectual means of obtaining the approbation of the empress.

The sister of prince Zubof was married to the chamberlain Jerebzof. This lady, handsome and very gallant, employed a part of her revenues in acts of beneficence, and often failed in an assignation with a lover, to go and relieve the distressed. She abhorred the court, was an enemy to all etiquette, and avoided great companies. The british minister attached himself to her, and through her influence, joined to that of the favourite, succeeded in pacifying the empress, whom the late turkish war had irritated against the court of London.

this animal jumped on the head of a general officer, highly dressed and powdered: and, after having well touzled his hair, voided his excrement upon it, without so far ruffling the spirit of the general as to make him venture to complain of the affront. — As Plato Zubof had but little discretion and a large portion of malignity, he often let slip a witticism that rebounded on himself. He was fond of jesting at the expence of Godoi, the Spaniard, since become duke of la Alcudia, and more recently the prince of Peace; thinking by so doing to vex the russian minister in Spain, Zinovief, who was then at Petersburg, and who, having been the rival of la Alcudia and supplanted by him, detested from his heart the castilian favourite.

Old Nikita Dimidof *, well known for his great riches and his great follies, fell violently in love with the sister of the favourite; and she, who had not the heart to be cruel, condescended to accept of very considerable presents from him.

The intimate confidant of Zubof was one of his relations, a volatile but sensible young man, to whom he had given a place of chamberlain, and whose advice he often followed.

Zubof had besides great confidence in a Raguzan, named Altesti. Placed at first in the counting-house of a free merchant of Constantinople, Altesti got acquainted with the russian minister Bulgakof, who, properly appreciating the bold and pliant temper of this young Italian, attached him to his legation, and brought him to Warsaw. The agreeable manners of Altesti attracted the notice of some polish ladies of great consideration, who procured for him the office of envoy to Petersburg, where he caballed with equal address and ingratitude against his patron, and at last succeeded so far as to get him recalled. At the same time he found means to interest Zubof in his behalf, who took him as his secretary †, and
ad-

* Son of a Prokopi Dimidof, long since dead, and far more ridiculous than him. — However, the having founded a school at Mosco and endowed it by a donation of two hundred and five thousand rubles, will atone for a great number of foibles.

† Zubof had, for the department of war, another secretary,

admitted him into the mysteries of his little conclave.

Among the persons of whom we are speaking, were several who had considerable influence in the cabinet of Petersburg, but not so much as to direct its business at their pleasure. The empress kept over them a vigilant eye; and notwithstanding her advanced age, she employed herself some hours every day with her ministers, and decided of herself in all important affairs.

About this time the empress concluded a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain*; that which had expired in 1786 not having been renewed. Her majesty at the same time published two edicts, prohibiting the importation of french merchandize into her dominions. This was a double triumph for the English; as the new treaty of commerce extended their privileges, and they reasonably hoped to be able to substitute the stuffs of India and their own manufacture, for those of Lyons, and the wines of Madeira and Oporto for the wines of France.

They obtained still more. Catharine promised shortly to join their fleet with a russian squadron; and orders were even sent to accelerate the arma-

tary, named Grabofsky, who had been in the secretariate of prince Potemkin under Popof; and in that of foreign affairs, the Lorrainer Aubert.

* It was signed the 25th of March 1793.

ments at Cronstadt. Stackelberg pressed the court of Stockholm not to keep the neutrality with France; and Krudener, animated with the same spirit, tormented with his solicitations the court of Copenhagen. But the Swedes and the Danes, who only considered the advantages of their commerce, remained inflexible.

The grand signior sent to Petersburg an ambassador *, offering magnificent presents to the empress and her ministers †; and her majesty at the same time sent off to Constantinople general Kutuzof, with the title of ambassador extraordinary. Kutuzof employed both prayers and menaces to determine the porte to expel all the French from the ottoman territory; but in vain. The divan, exasperated at the desertion of the English, who had abandoned them in the last war, and being convinced of their true interests by the french minister Descorches, preserved the respect due to a nation whom they regarded as their most ancient and faithful ally.

In the mean time the ambassador of Russia at Stockholm, and the swedish party attached to that power, were perpetually caballing to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and to give the young king a council to administer the government under the protection of the empress. A

* Raschid Mehemet effendi.

† Among these presents was a complete tent ornamented with pearls, and estimated to be worth thirty thousand rubles.

conspiracy

conspiracy was even formed, which was detected at the very moment when it was ready to break out; but for giving a just idea of it, it will be necessary to revert to a former period.

In 1782, Gustavus III. made a testament, by which he provided, that, in case of his decease, his son Gustavus Adolphus, conformably to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, should not assume the reigns of government till arrived at the age of one-and-twenty. When the war broke out between him and Russia, he made a second, by which the majority of Gustavus Adolphus was fixed at eighteen, on account of the unexpected progress which that young prince had made in his studies. By these testaments the regency was given to the duke of Sudermania, together with all the prerogatives of royalty, except that of creating nobles and conferring knighthood.

When the physicians had declared to Gustavus III. that his death was inevitable from the wound he had received of the traitor Ankarström, the monarch made a third will, in which, still leaving the regency to the duke of Sudermania, he obliged him to take into his council baron von Armfeldt and baron von Taube. As soon as the king was dead, this codicil was presented to the duke, who read it, and then threw it into the fire.

No mention was therefore made of any will, except the two former, which, on their being

presented to the tribunal of the court, bore all the marks of authenticity, and in pursuance of which the duke of Sudermania was declared regent. That prince immediately recalled the baron von Reuterholm, who, on the breaking up of the diet of 1789, had retired into Italy; and, without any other title, Reuterholm became the principal counsellor, or rather the prime minister of the regent.

Almost all the friends of Gustavus III. were devoted to Russia, and had dispersed. Armfeldt passed into Italy, because, contrary to his inclination, he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Naples. But, though at a distance from Stockholm, that minister was not the less active in endeavouring to deprive the duke of Sudermania of the regency, and even of his life. He kept up a regular correspondence with the court of Petersburg, by means of the Raguzan Altesti, secretary to Zubof, and drew up the plan of a conspiracy, in which were comprehended the friends whom he had left in Sweden. He now thought himself on the point of succeeding. But all his steps had been observed by spies, who followed him every where: his papers were taken from him, sent into Sweden, and laid before the tribunal of the court, who immediately arrested his accomplices, and brought them to judgment.

1795. The greater part of the papers relative to this trial were printed, and proved incontestibly to the swedish nation, that the conspirators were acting in concert with Russia, and relied on the assistance of that power.

These circumstances were not adapted to the restoration of harmony between the two courts. They rather widened the breach from day to day; and the notes which the russian ministers soon after presented to the court of Stockholm were conceived in menacing terms; to which the swedish ministry always replied with firmness and decency.

The regent had resolved to bring about a match between the young king of Sweden and a princess of the house of Mecklenburg. The marriage was even agreed on, and the princess of Mecklenburg declared future queen of Sweden. At this the empress testified great displeasure; pretending that Gustavus III. had promised her the hand of his son for one of the young grand duchesses; and she looked upon the failure in the execution of that promise as a personal affront to her. Accordingly, when count Schverin was commissioned to go and announce at Petersburg the marriage of the young king, Catharine, who had been previously apprized of the object of his mission, dispatched a courier to meet him on

the borders of Finland, to forbid him to enter Russia *.

Soon after this, the empress made choice of the baron von Budberg to be her majesty's chargé d'affaires at Stockholm; who, by an affected contempt for the court of Sweden, gave that cabinet room to suspect that this agent had been particularly selected for that purpose on account of his inexperienced age and his excessive pride: for, if it had been recommended to him to shew a considerable degree of stateliness and insolence, he nevertheless certainly exceeded his orders †.

1796. The misunderstanding between Sweden and Russia seemed now to be arrived at its height, when a french emigrant, named Christin, made his appearance at Stockholm ‡. He had come

* The regent contented himself with causing to be published, on this occasion, the declaration which the reader may see in the Appendix at the end of the volume, No. XI.

† In a company where the greater part of the ladies of the court were present, and where the men were all uncovered, he was so unpolite as to keep his hat on his head. It was previous to his presentation at court. Accordingly, the day on which he was presented, the regent spoke not a word to him; but, having his horsewhip in his hand, kept striking it repeatedly on his boot, as if his fingers itched to strike elsewhere.

‡ In the month of January, Christin wore a swiss uniform, and gave out that he was an officer in the service of that nation. He was indeed of Yverdon; but he had been secretary to Calonne.

from

from England to Gothemburgh, and gave out that he was charged with a mission from the count d'Artois to the empress of Russia. But this was only the better to conceal the real object of his journey, as it was afterwards well known that he had secret orders to incline the regent to an accommodation with the empress. His negotiation was attended with success: and soon afterwards general Budberg, uncle of the chargé d'affaires, arrived in Sweden, with the title of ambassador from the empress.

General Budberg informed the regent of the intentions of his sovereign. She requested that that prince and baron von Reuterholm would dispose the young king to repudiate the princess of Mecklenburg, in order to espouse one of the grand-daughters of Catharine; and that they would moreover engage him not to exact of his consort a conformity to the law by which the queens of Sweden are bound to adopt the religion of the country: lastly, she was desirous that the regent and Reuterholm should accompany the young king to Petersburg.

Catharine spoke: she was obeyed. The regent, with his royal ward *, his minister, and a great train of courtiers, repaired to Petersburg †. The

* The young king Gustavus Adolphus took the title of count von Haga, and the regent that of count von Vasa.

† They arrived there the 24th of August.

pride of the empress was satisfied: she now displayed nothing more than her magnificence.

The young king seemed greatly affected at the benevolence that was shewn him by the empress*; but he was still more so at the charms of the grand duchess Alexandra. The sight of her made him easily forget the princess of Mecklenburg: proposals of marriage were made on the spot, and the day fixed for the ceremony of the espousals, which was to be followed by a grand entertainment. When the contract was presented to the king for his signature, he observed, to the great astonishment of the imperial family, that the fundamental laws of Sweden obliged him to require, that the princess should previously change her religion; and that, without this condition, he could not put his hand to the contract.

Catharine at first had recourse to solicitations and flatteries to persuade the young monarch to sign the deed. But, perceiving that they were ineffectual towards bringing him to alter his resolution, she coldly rose up, and retired. She was followed by the grand duke, the grand duchess, and their children. Nothing more was heard of

* On his advancing to kiss the hand of Catharine, she told him, she would not suffer him to pay her that homage. — “If you will not permit it, as empress,” said he, “allow it at least as a lady for whom I have the highest admiration and esteem.”

the entertainment : and on the morrow Gustavus Adolphus and his retinue quitted Petersburg.

Catharine had conquered, either by her arms or by her intrigues, almost one half of Poland, the Crimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey. But she had no need of armaments and battles for usurping another rich and well-peopled country. Her intrigues were sufficient. This country was Courland and Semigallia, where still reigned the feeble son * of the sanguinary Biren.

For displaying the advantage of this acquisition in its full extent, it will be necessary to give an idea of the geography of Courland, its products and its inhabitants.

Courland, situated between the 56th and the 58th degree of north latitude, is divided into three parts : Courland proper, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten. It is bounded by Livonia, Lithuania, Samogitia, and the Baltic. The Duina parts it from Livonia on the north, and waters its frontiers for a space of more than sixty leagues. The south of Courland borders on Lithuania and Samogitia, from Varnovitch to the river Heiligenatch, which falls into the Baltic.

* Duke Peter. — He had a son, who died some few years ago. He has now only three daughters.

That part of Samogitia * which sepatates Courland from Prussia is not above four or five leagues in breadth, and here are the only coasts that Poland has on the Baltic.

Courland, more favourably situated for navigation, has on that sea a hundred leagues of coast, presenting several creeks and bays, with the excellent harbours of Libau and Vindau. This latter, which is never shut up by the ice, will doubtless one day become the station for russian fleets. It might very easily be rendered capable of containing a hundred ships of the line, which may in all seasons of the year keep Sweden and Denmark in awe †.

Courland is watered by the Duina, the Vindau, the Aa, the Ekran and the Suffeg; and nothing would be more practicable than to form an inland navigation. The Vindau and the Aa, especially, may greatly facilitate the commerce of the Baltic with Lithuania and Samogitia, where these rivers take their source.

* Since the partition of Poland, Samogitia belongs to Russia.

† It was settled by the treaty of Oliva in 1630, and by the convention of 1783, that no other port should be established in Courland than those which already exist; but what are such treaties to a sovereign who can infringe them with impunity.

There

There are also lakes and morasses in Courland. The principal lakes are those of Saueken, Angern, Refinaiten, Libau, and Popen. The districts that most abound in wood are Dohndangen, Popen, Schleck, and Rutzau. Those of Mertzendorf, Bengallen, and Ambothen, are covered with mountains.

The climate of Courland is good, though austere. The changes are too sudden from cold to heat, and from heat to cold, and fogs are very frequent. Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants are robust and live to a great age.

The soil of the country is in general fertile. It produces abundance of timber, corn, fruits, and a variety of other vegetables. Indeed there are parts which lie uncultivated, but it is only for want of men and cattle.

In the forests are plenty of game, and the rivers teem with fish. The quality of the land is calcareous, but covered in various places with sand, turf, and clay. There are quarries of marble, and mines of iron as well as of coal; but they are not worked*. Vitriol is also found, and plumbago. The commercial articles furnished by Courland, are wheat, barley, oats, timber, hemp, flax, potash, hides, furs, feathers, salted and

* If we may believe tradition, other minerals besides iron are found in Courland, as well as salt-springs and mines of rock-salt; but of this the naturalists are not certain.

smoked provisions, wax, honey, rosin, tallow, amber, beer, and corn-brandv.

Courland has no manufactures; so that all articles of luxury, even many objects of prime necessity, come from abroad, bringing great profits to the Dutch, to the Danes, and the English, who barter them against the commodities of the country.

The vast number of little harbours belonging to Courland on the Baltic afford great encouragement for smuggling.

Ere we proceed to say in what state the inhabitants and the government of Courland were at the time when Catharine took possession of that country, we will just succinctly call to mind what they had been.

It is about two thousand two hundred years since some navigators from the south discovered in the northern parts of which we are speaking, a savage people, who carried on a trade in amber which they collected on their shores. Herodotus gives them the name of Venedes; by other writers of antiquity they are called Guttones or Gythones, Suevi, Æstians, Heruli; and it is from one of these hordes that the Baltic, seventeen centuries ago, bore the name of the Varagian sea. The Guttones drove the Suevi up into the heart of the country, and remained masters of the sea-coast. They were so bold and enterprising in their piratical
expedi-

expeditions, that towards the end of the sixth century they ravaged the coast of France.

At that time there were kings of Courland, and a family still subsists among the courish peasantry, which even now retains some privileges as descending from those ancient kings.

The Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, successively subdued the Courlanders, and were sometimes conquered by them. So late as at the close of the twelfth century the Courlanders had never been inclined to receive christianity, and had even frequently slain those who attempted to preach it among them: but a grand crusade, set on foot against them by pope Innocent III. compelled them to be converted*.

The order of the *Fratres Ensisferi*, or knights of the sword, had got the mastery of Courland, now erected into a duchy, and regarded as an oblatory fief†, of which the kings of Poland were paramount. The grandmaster, Conrad of Medem, built the city of Mittau‡, its capital. Long after this, Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, united Courland with his dominions; and, at length the grandmaster Gotthard Kettler was duke of it in 1561, but the king of Poland withheld his in-

* In the year 1200. — In the same year the crusaders, who for the most part were Saxons, founded the city of Riga.

† The civilians make a great difference between *feudum oblatum* and *feudum datum*.

‡ In the year 1270. — The family of Medem still exists.

vestiture till eighteen years afterwards, that is, in 1579.

The descendants of Gotthard Kettler almost uniformly preserved the duchy of Courland till 1737. One of them, James III. who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century, acquired great fame and consequence in Europe. He concluded beneficial treaties with England and France. He had a good navy, a very considerable revenue; and the ships of his subjects carried on a free trade to the shores of the Senegal, to the river of Gambia, to the Westindies, and to the ports of Iceland.

Ferdinand, the last offspring of the race of Kettler, lost his duchy in consequence of having commanded the saxon army against czar Peter I. During the space of thirty years, his oppressed though faithful states repeatedly prayed him to return; but he never dared to comply with their petition. At length, on the death of that prince, in 1737, the empress Anne forced the Courlanders to elect for their duke her worthless favourite Biren.

Biren, at that time all-powerful at the court of Petersburg, and afterwards banished for twenty years in the desarts of Siberia, went not to take possession of his duchy till he returned from exile. Six years afterwards * he resigned the reigns of

* In 1769. — Peter Biren, son of Ernest John, had been elected in 1764.

government to his son Peter, already elected by the influence of Russia.

The morals of the Courlanders were bad, and their laws were worse. The nobles generally addicted to excessive debauchery, enjoyed too many privileges, and the inhabitants of towns, as well as the peasantry, were too much degraded. The latter, good-natured, but awkward and extremely superstitious, are still great believers in the arts of sorcery. Some of them are even idolaters, and in the hearts of the forests sacrifice animals to their gods *. Their education is not calculated to improve them. In all Courland there is no public institution for learning except the miserable gymnasium of Mittau †. Lutheranism is the predominant religion of the country; but all other sects are tolerated.

The dukes, though elected sovereigns of Courland, were till very lately absolutely subject to Poland. The only orders that had any force of law in Courland emanated from the republic and the king of Poland, sealed with the great seal of Lithuania. The dukes could only maintain a body

* The courish peasants live, not in villages, but in lone cottages scattered over the country.

† The courish language comes from that of the Heruli their predecessors, and has nothing in common either with the rufs, or with the polish, though both are derived from the flavonian. It is said that the courish language is eminently adapted to poetry.

of five hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry. They coined money, it is true, but with the impress of the effigy and arms of the king of Poland; and the courish nobility as well as the corporations took the oath of allegiance to the polish monarch.

The rights and usages of the courish nobles had a near resemblance with those of the polish noblesse. They had their diets, their dietines, with their private and arbitrary tribunals. They were liable to neither duties nor taxes, paying no other contributions to the state than those they thought proper to impose on themselves. They were wealthy, because they possessed the whole land of the country*.

Duke Peter Biren was avaricious, litigious and greatly disliked†; his implicit acquiescence in his favourite Wagener contributed not a little to render him odious to his subjects: but this was not the only cause of their complaints. Being bound to let out his domains in farms to the nobles at a moderate price, he took upon him to raise that price, making likewise agronomical alterations, that were burdensome to the cultivators. During a journey that he made into Italy, the regency replaced every thing on its ancient

* Several courish nobles have to the amount of a hundred thousand crowns annual income.

† The duchess was very deservedly beloved. Madame de Reck, her sister, is much respected for her talents and information.

footing: but on his return, the duke recommenced his innovations, and thus increased the number of his enemies. He seemed, in short, by his imprudent conduct, to urge his subjects to invite the russian yoke.

It was long since the emissaries of Russia had been successful in their attempts to gain over several of the principal barons of Courland, and particularly the counsellor Hoven, an eloquent, complying, and ambitious man. The courish nobles* were often attracted to Petersburg; where the flattering reception of the empress, distinctions, honours, posts, and pleasures, rendered their abode in the imperial residence far preferable to continuing in Mittau, and raised in them the desire of being under the sway of the sovereign of a vast empire, rather than to live in obedience to a duke, the obscurity of whose origin they could not forget, and whom they regarded as their inferior.

For inducing the people to partake in this sentiment of the nobles, Catharine artfully raised a spirit of dissention in their minds, and threw out reasons of alarm. She began by instigating the inhabitants of Livonia to insist upon the fulfilment of an ancient convention, by which the Courlanders were obliged to bring all their merchandizes to Riga; certainly a very strange and

* The principal of these nobles are the families of Mantusel, Bahr, Klopmann, Korf, Grothaus, Sals, Igelftrœm, Firks, Munster, Roop, and Medem.

hard condition, by which a nation, that had on its coasts excellent harbours happily situated, should be obliged to go, at a great expence, to embark the products of its soil in a foreign city. But what cannot force effect? and what will not ambition dare? The quarrel between the Livonians and the Courlanders was not yet terminated, when the empress sent engineers into Courland, to mark out a canal, to facilitate the transport of the merchandizes of that country into Livonia. The Courlanders seeing this, and fearing lest they should be soon forced to make use of this canal, thought it better for them to be protected than oppressed by the empress, and to be her subjects rather than her neighbours.

Catharine, being informed of these dispositions, called the duke of Courland to her, under the pretext of having occasion to confer with him on matters of importance. But no sooner was that prince at the foot of the throne of the autocratrix of the north, than the states of Courland held an assembly. The nobility proposed to withdraw the country from the paramount supremacy of Poland, and to put it under that of Russia. The principal members of the grand council made a faint opposition to this alteration, by observing, that before they proceeded to a resolution, it would be expedient to wait the return of the duke. The oberburgraf Hoven rose up, and spoke a long time in favour of Russia. Some counsellors expressed themselves of his opinion, and
others

others reproached him with treason. The dispute grew warm on both sides; challenges were reciprocally given and swords were about to be drawn, when the ruffian general Pahlen appeared in the assembly *. His presence restored tranquillity. No one presumed to raise his voice against Russia; and the proposal of the nobles was adopted.

The next day † the act was drawn up, by which Courland, Semigallia, and the circle of Pilten, made a formal surrender of themselves

* Baron Hoven complained to the diet of having received the following challenge from the chancellor baron Wolf: "My earnest desire, after long perseverance in seeking an opportunity, for talking with you, without any witnesses except our own four eyes, must have been particularly manifest to you to-day. Let us, this fine afternoon, devote one minute to our country! It may be that the fate thereof depends upon it. — The glorious weather, at any rate, invites me to take a walk. We shall then meet here without fail, near the city of Rome? I shall wait for you till four o'clock at the other end of the long bridge. Oh how delightful — how hearty will be our embrace. And the thoughts on our dear country!!!

"Now, you will certainly come? Antient Rome was famous for a series of patriotic achievements; may our courish Rome be renowned for one alone! — Suffice; we shall talk together, — and should you, which I can by no means surmise, not please to attend at the time appointed; I will not rest till I have found you some other time, to which I shall be forced to employ coercive means.

"Mittau, March 16, 1795.

WOLF."

† The 18th of March 1795. This singular act may be seen in the Appendix at the end of the volume, No. XII.

to the empress of Russia; and it was carried to Petersburg, where the duke of Courland learnt, from the mouth of his own subjects, that they themselves had deprived him of his dominions*. The empress immediately sent a governor thither.

However, some discontent remained in Courland: discontent brought on proscription; and the possessions of the proscribed were given to the courtiers of Catharine. The favourite Plato Zubof and his brother Valerian obtained a great part of these rich and shameful spoils.

Though the peaceful sovereign of so many usurped dominions, Catharine was perpetually taking fresh measures to annex them inseparably to her estates. Prince Repnin and general Toulmin exacted in her name a new oath of allegiance, the one in Lithuania, the other in Poland†; and the miserable inhabitants of those countries, who dared to refuse to submit to that cruel formality, were instantly despoiled of the heritage of their fathers, and driven from their natal soil.

* It should seem that the duke was aware of this intended spoliation, as he had bought up several estates in Prussia, the duchy of Sagan in Silesia, the domains of Rothenburg, and Frederiksfeldt in Brandenburg. He was already possessed, in Silesia, of the countries of Vartenberg, of Balin, and of Goschutz.

† The form of the oath to be taken individually by the Lithuanians and the Poles, is inserted in the Appendix, at the end of the volume, N° XIII.

The empress, who had so long given unavailing promises of assistance to the concert of kings against France, yielded to the solicitations of the favourite Zubof, to which he had been constantly stimulated by his sister, the british minister, and Esterhazy. She determined * to join the english navy with a squadron of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates, the command whereof was given to admiral Hanikof †. But, never making treaties without a view to the benefit of her country, it was stipulated on her part that the ships should be provisioned at the expence of her ally, and sent home in thorough repair, by which means her raw mariners were disciplined, and her crazy vessels, mostly of fir-timber, and which would hardly bear the sea, were completely refitted.

Catharine had married ‡ her grandson Alexander with the princess Louisa, of Baden-Durlach §; and was now desirous of giving a spouse to prince Constantine. She invited to her court the three daughters of the prince of Saxe-Coburg; and, after having some time hesitated in her choice, she determined in favour of the youngest, who, on

* The 2d of July, 1795.

† Hanikof is a brave and deserving officer, speaks english remarkably well, and was to have accompanied commodore James Trevenen on the intended voyage of discovery, which was laid aside on the breaking out of the swedish war.

‡ The 21st of May, 1793.

§ On embracing the greek religion, the princess Louisa of Baden-Durlach took the name of Elizabeth Alexievna.

becoming grand duchess, took the name of Anna Feodorovna *.

But these quiet usurpations, these treaties and alliances, were not sufficient to give full occupation to the mind of Catharine. Inured to conquest, she turned her arms against Persia; and under pretence of defending Lolf-Ali-khan, an offspring of the race of the sophis, she wanted to take revenge on Aga-Mahmed, and to gain possession of the persian provinces which border on the Caspian. Her minister at Constantinople therefore had orders to press the porte to second her designs. But, although strongly supported by the reis-effendi, Raschid-Mehemet, the divan remained immovable.

Valerian Zubof, at the head of a numerous army, penetrated into the province of Daghestan, and advanced to lay siege to Derbent. His first attack was directed against a high tower which defended the place; and, after having made himself master of it, and put the whole garrison to the sword, he was preparing to make an assault upon the town. The Persians, intimidated by the former successes and the impetuosity of the Russians, cried out for quarter; and the commandant, a venerable old man, of the amazing age of a hundred and twenty years, and the same who, at the commencement of the present century, had fur-

* The 14th of February, 1796.

rendered Derbent to Peter I. came now to deliver the keys to Valerian Zubof.

Aga-Mahmed was advancing with succours to the relief of Derbent, when he heard that the place was already in the hands of the Russians. Valerian Zubof came forth from the place to offer him battle, in which victory declared for the Persians, who forced their enemies to return into Derbent. Catharine, being informed of this defeat, immediately gave orders for a body of troops which she had in the Kuban to go and reinforce the army of Valerian Zubof, not doubting that her general would very soon give a total defeat to Aga-Mahmed.

She also flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining a greater triumph. The new treaty which she had just concluded * with Great Britain and with Austria secured to her the assistance of those two powers against Turkey: in a word, she now reckoned on the full accomplishment of her darling

* The former treaty of this triple alliance had been signed in the month of February, 1795. The new one was to be signed the very day on which the empress breathed her last, or, however, the day after that on which she died. By this new treaty, it is said, she was to furnish the coalition immediately an army of sixty-five thousand men, and afterwards to augment that army to fourscore thousand men, if it should be judged necessary. At the same time, Great Britain bound herself to pay a hundred and fifty-thousand pounds sterling in advance, and a hundred thousand pounds per month over and above the maintenance of the troops.

project, of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, and of reigning in Constantinople.

In that case the vast empire of Catharine would have had for its frontiers, the thracian Bosphorus to the south, the gulph of Bothnia to the north*, the Vistula to the west, and the sea of Japan to the east.

But death deceived her hopes. On the morning of the 6th of November she was in good spirits, and took her coffee as usual. Some time after this she retired to her closet; where, after remaining a full half hour, the women who waited on her, not seeing her return, began to be alarmed; and, on entering the outer room in which she was, they found her stretched on the parquet with her feet against the door, and speechless. Upon this, a messenger was dispatched to Dr. John Rogerfon, her majesty's chief physician, who, judging it to be a fit of apoplexy, ordered her twice to be let blood, on which the empress at first appeared to be somewhat relieved; but she was unable to utter a single word, and at ten o'clock in the evening of the following day she expired †.

The

* It has been asserted by persons of great credibility, that in the secret articles of the treaty of Varela, Catharine II. had promised Gustavus III. to assist him in conquering Norway, on condition that he should cede all Finland to her.

† Catharine, through life, had been seldom out of order; and her even and cheerful frame of mind perhaps contributed to

The grand duke was at his country palace of Gatshina, to which palace an officer was sent off to apprise him of the danger of his mother. He repaired to Petersburg, and at the instant when she ceased to breathe was proclaimed emperor by the name of Paul I.

Having taken in hand the reins of government, that prince failed not to pay the due funeral honours to his mother; but he would not that she should be the sole object of this august and mournful ceremony.

Whether from an excess of filial piety, or whether to shew that he still felt at heart the abhorrence of the crime that had deprived him of a father, he revived in an awful and solemn manner the recollection of that horrid transaction. The last scene of the bloody tragedy of 1762 was presented after a period of thirty-five years.

Paul I. ordered the tomb of the unfortunate Peter III. in the church of the monastery of St. Alexander Nefsky, to be opened. On the coffin of that prince he caused to be placed the imperial crown, which he had sent for expressly from Mos-

to the preservation of her health. She suffered a little, latterly, by swellings in the legs, and was sometimes subject to a trifling colic. She lost all consciousness from the moment of her last attack.—Her good genius preserved her from the pains of a lingering illness; and she died fortunately as she had always lived.

co; the coffin was then laid in state beside that of the empress, with a true-love-knot reaching from one to the other, on which was inscribed, in russ characters: "Divided in life — united in death."

Alexius Orlof was sent for to Petersburg, to stand, with prince Baratinsky, one on each side of the coffin of Peter III. as chief mourners. This woeful preference had certainly no other aim than to excite remorse and terror in the breasts of the two assassins. For three hours which the ceremony lasted, the eyes of all the spectators were fixed upon them, as if reproaching them with their guilt. Alexius Orlof, possessing more force and insensibility than Baratinsky, betrayed no signs of emotion; but his accomplice seemed to be overwhelmed with grief, and would probably have fallen into a swoon had not recourse been had to salts and other stimulants which he constantly applied.

All Petersburg expected that this punishment would be followed by some more signal severity: but the vengeance of the emperor proceeded no farther. Alexey Orlof received permission to travel, without having asked for it; and Baratinsky had orders never more to appear at court. A disgrace which he must certainly have considered as a favour.

We

We shall not attempt to trace in new colours the character of Catharine II. The history we have now been writing sufficiently displays it. What pencil will be found to paint, with strokes sufficiently animated, that woman, whose head and heart subdued, governed, and civilised an immense empire; who, in her vastly comprehensive plans, no sooner conceived than executed, gave and took away crowns at her pleasure; who, if death had not stopped her career, would have placed her grandson, Constantine, on the ottoman throne?

She is dead — thus every thing dies but fame. The dart of death struck her with the rapidity of lightning. In the morning she was an empress; at night she was dust. Her great soul escaped from its mortal coil, without a single attendant to receive her last sighs, to hear her last accents. How great must have been her grief, how severe her torment, when she fell, almost inanimate, and incapable of elevating her voice, so as to be heard by her faithful guards in the outer apartment! What an amazing crowd of thoughts must have rushed into her mind in her last moments!

To the little that has been said before, we shall only subjoin a few words on her person.

That princess had been handsome in her youth, and she preserved a gracefulness and majesty to the last period of her life. She was of a moderate stature, but well proportioned; and, as she carried

ried her head very high, she appeared rather tall. She had an open front, an aquiline nose, an agreeable mouth, and her chin, though long, was not mis-shapen. Her hair was auburn, her eyebrows black and rather thick; and her blue eyes* had a gentleness which was often affected, but oftener still a mixture of pride. Her physiognomy was not deficient in expression; but that expression never discovered what was passing in the soul of Catharine, or rather it served her the better to disguise it.

The empress was usually dressed in the russian manner. She wore a green gown † somewhat short, forming in front a kind of vest, and with close sleeves reaching to the wrist. Her hair, slightly powdered, flowed upon her shoulders, topped with a small cap covered with diamonds. In the latter years of her life she put on a great deal of rouge; for she was still desirous to prevent the impressions of time from being visible on her face; and she always observed the strictest temperance ‡.

* Several persons who lived at the court of that princess affirm, that Catharine II. had very blue eyes, and not brown, as is said by M. Rulhieres.

† Green is the favourite colour with the Russians. Several of their uniforms are green,

‡ She made but a light breakfast, ate moderately at dinner, and never had any supper. When she read in foreign prints, that she had a dropfy and a scirrhus complaint, and that she could not live long, she affected to laugh at it; but near observers assert, that she was secretly hurt at the time.

We

We promised to give a statement of the presents received by the favourites of Catharine. The following has been communicated to us by persons well informed :

	Rubles.
The five brothers ORLOV received 45,000 peasants; and in lands, palaces, jewels, plate, and money	17,000,000
VISSENSKY, officer of the guards, about two months in favour	300,000
VASSILTSCHIKOF, simple lieutenant of the guards, received, in the 22 months that he was in favour:	
An estate with 7000 peasants upon it, estimated at	600,000
In money	100,000
In jewels	60,000
In plate	50,000
A palace furnished	100,000
A pension of 20,000 rubles per annum, nearly	200,000
	<u>Total 1,100,000</u>

The order of St. Alexander Nefsky.

Prince POTESKIN received, in the two first years, about nine millions.

He afterwards accumulated immense riches. He had great estates in Poland, and in all the provinces of Russia. One of his book-cases was full of gold, diamonds, and notes of the banks of London, Amsterdam, and Venice. His fortune was estimated at

50,000,000

ZAVODOFSKY

Rubles.

ZAVODOFSKY received, in 18 months, lands in Poland with 2000 peasants, in the Ukraine with 6000, and in Russia with 1800.

These estates were estimated at	1,000,000
He received in money	150,000
In plate	50,000
In jewels	80,000
In a pension on the cabinet of 10,000 rubles a year	100,000
Total	<u>1,380,000</u>

The ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

ZORITCH received, in one year, the ribbon of the order of the sword of Sweden, and that of the white eagle of Poland.

An estate in Poland, of	500,000
One in Livonia, of 50 haaks	100,000
A commandery in Poland, produced 12,000 rubles yearly, valued at	120,000
In money	500,000
In jewels	200,000
Total	<u>1,420,000</u>

KORZAKOF received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland, the palace of Vassiltchikof re-purchased for him

re-purchased for him	100,000
An estate with 4000 peasants	400,000
In money and jewels	150,000
The liquidation of his debts	100,000
To fit him out for travelling	100,000
Gratification while on his travels	70,000
Total	<u>920,000</u>

LANSKOI

	Rubles.
LANŠKOI received, in estates or money	3,000,000
In diamonds - - -	80,000
To pay his debts - - -	80,000
A palace valued at - - -	100,000
Total	<u>3,260,000</u>

Moreover his sister and his cousin were admitted into the number of maids of honour to the empress, and received many presents not brought into the account.

YERMOLOF received, in 16 months, the ribbon of the white eagle of Poland.

An estate valued at - - -	100,000
Another with 3000 peasants - - -	300,000
In money - - -	150,000
Total	<u>550,000</u>

MOMONOF received, in 26 months, in estates	600,000
In money - - -	200,000
In jewels - - -	80,000
Total	<u>880,000</u>

PLATO ZUBOF was decorated with the title of prince, and with several ribbons, and appointed grand-master of the artillery. He received large estates in Russia, in Poland, and in Courland. His fortune, exclusive of moveables and jewels, amounts to about 100,000 per annum, and consequently valued at

per annum, and consequently valued at	2,500,000
His moveables and his jewels - - -	200,000
Total	<u>2,700,000</u>

Rubles.

VALERIAN ZUBOF received great sums in money, estates in Poland and in Courland, and a pension of 12,000 rubles, payable in gold. The whole may be estimated at - 800,000

To these gifts must be added the expenditure of the favourite, estimated at 1,250,000 rubles per annum, which, during the thirty-four years of the reign of Catharine II. amounts to - 8,500,000

Sum total - 92,820,000

We have so often had occasion to speak of the wars and the conquests of Catharine II. that we should not be easily excused for omitting an account of the forces of her empire, and all the means in her possession, independent on her policy and uncommon talents, for establishing and enlarging her power. Here follows then a succinct state of the

ARMY.

In 1794 the russian army was composed of eight divisions, each of fifty thousand men; and these divisions had their particular generals.

1. The division of FINLAND, commanded by the prince of Anhalt, kinsman to the empress.
2. The division of LIVONIA, commanded by field-marshal Ivan Soltikof.
3. The division of Mosco, commanded by general Prozorofsky.
4. The

4. The division of WHITE RUSSIA, under the orders of general Mikelfon, conqueror of the rebel Pugatshof. 5. The division of the UKRAINE, commanded by field-marshal Suvarof Rimniksky. 6. The division of CAUCASUS, under orders of general Gudovitch, who took from the Turks the fortresses of Anapa and of Sudyuk-kaly. 7. The division of UFA, commanded by general Reck, having under him general Chardon, a native of Avignon. 8. The division of SIBERIA, commanded by general Strandmann.

These eight divisions were stated to form a regular army of 400,000 men.

The artillery, of which the favourite Plato Zubof was grand-master, reckoned about - - 30,000

Three regiments of foot-guards, and a regiment of horse guards - - - 10,000

The kozaks of the Don, the Tartars of Taurida, the Kalmuks, and several other hordes, furnished, in irregular troops, nearly - - - 120,000

Total of the army 550,000

This army was completed by the recruits which the proprietors of estates were obliged to furnish sometimes by raising one man out of every five hundred of their peasants, sometimes out of three hundred, sometimes out of one hundred *.

State of the russian army in January 1795, according to the registers of the college of

* In the war before last against the Turks, it once happened, that one man out of thirty-five was taken, to recruit the army of marshal Romantzof.

This method of recruiting, though convenient to the empress, was ruinous to the empire, and was attended with horrible abuses. The officers employed in levying recruits, after stripping naked all the men presented to them, cut the hair from behind of those they rejected, and the hair over the forehead of such as they accepted. They were obliged to select only sound men, exempt from all bodily blemish; but by means of a slight gratification, they were induced to take such as the masters wished to get rid of, and who often were not even able to bear the fatigues of the journey. Besides, the masters were obliged to give a certain sum of money to these recruits; the relations almost always added something to this sum; and all this was trusted to the officer, whose interest it was that the recruits should not join the army, that he might keep what belonged to them. Accordingly, he fed them so badly, and fatigued them so much, that sometimes not more than a third reached the place of their destination. It was very well authenticated, that of sixty thousand men raised in a district, to recruit the army of prince Potemkin, only one thousand eight hundred were able to join that army.

war

war, made up from the reports of the different corps :

Regiments.	Number of men in pay.
19 of artillery	38,110
11 Grenadiers, of 4075 men each	51,048
3 Grenadiers, of 1000 to 3000 men each	
51 Musketeers, composed of 10 companies of musketeers, and 2 companies of grenadiers, each regiment being composed of 2424 men	139,592
7 Musketeers without grenadiers	
1 Musketeers, of 4 battalions 4143 men	5,879
New arquebusiers, so called	
12 Battalions of musketeers, of 1919 men	16,653
3 Battalions of musketeers, of 1475 men	
48 Battalions, infantry in garrison on the frontiers	82,393
10 in the country	
9 Corps of chasseurs (yæger-corps) of 4 battalions of 988 men, each 3992	25,928
3 Battalions of chasseurs	2,994
5 Cuirassiers (of 6 squadrons) of 1106 and 1125 men	5,490
10 Dragoons (of 10 squadrons) of 1882 men	23,573
2 with hussars and grenadiers mounted	
8 Carabiniers (of 6 squadrons) of 1106 men	16,352
8 Carabiniers (of 5 squadrons) of 988 men	
2 Hussars, of 1119 men	2,722
3 Squadrons hussars	
1 Squadron hussars de corps	7,352
4 Regiments chasseurs à cheval, of 1838 men	
5 Light horse (of 6 squadrons) of 1047 men	5,235
6 Cavalry of the Ukraine, of 1047 men	6,282
16 Regular kozak cavalry	30,883
Troops to guard the country (maréchaussée)	22,216

In the new provinces acquired from Poland
in the first partition, viz.

Regiments.	Number of men in pay.
6 Brigades of 1819 men	23,360
5 Brigades light horse, of 1098 men	
4 of infantry, of 1447, &c. in all	
Invalids in garrison	3,864
Soldiers' sons at school for service	16,816
Troops to assist the commissaries, &c.	1,258
Total regular troops	Men 541,741
Irregular kozaks cavalry	21,625
Irregular troops of the Don kozaks	46,601
cavalry, all in actual service	
A great number of other irregular troops, all	100,000
cavalry, as Kalmuks, Baschkirs, &c. not en-	
rolled, but ready when called out, they re-	
ceive no pay; at least	
Men 688,332	

All the regiments encamp from the month of May to the end of August. In their tents they have no straw; but each soldier lies upon the bare and often the wet ground. When he mounts guard, it is for a fortnight together. But when he is taken ill, the government has him attended with maternal care. No expence has been spared in providing hospitals; large buildings have been constructed in the principal towns, and a proper number

number of physicians attached to them. There they have medicines and diet, suited to the patient's case, let the cost be what it may. Notwithstanding all this, the soldiers enter the hospitals with repugnance, and are glad to leave them as soon as they can. It is not so with the officers of these hospitals, who contrive to secure some comfortable perquisites to themselves.

With regard to the proportion of military force which the empire can send into the field, Russia has great advantages, as it has but little luxury, commerce, or manufactures; and after the greatest levies, hands enough will remain for all the purposes of agriculture.

That the extent of the Russian empire will not permit the raising of its whole military force is evident; and supposing the population to be six millions more than France, it would be a great mistake to suppose that Russia could make as considerable a levy. The manner of thinking of the Russians is not favourable to this; for if we except some of its people, as the kozaks, the Kalmuks, &c. the repugnance of the lower order of the people for the military profession is greater in Russia than in almost any other country.

It may be some inducement to a Russian peasant or serf to enter into the army: the pay is tolerably good, more so, comparatively, than in most countries of Europe; but they are not allowed leave of absence for six months in the year, as in

Germany; and from the distance of their stations, a young man on enlisting may be considered as having quitted his family and connections for ever. It is true, that since 1793 the time of service, which used to be for life, is limited to twenty-five years. This may have a good effect in giving hopes to the recruit of revisiting, though at a distant period, his family and friends.

However dear bread may be, the russian soldier always has abundance; indeed the dearer it is the better for him, as he has generally a superfluity to dispose of: and considering all circumstances, the pay of the russian soldier is better than that of Prussia, Austria, or France.

The discipline is severe, (the lower officers having a right to inflict a punishment, not exceeding twenty strokes with a cane, of their own authority,) but the occasions of punishment are not so frequent as in Germany. The Russian has no gaiters to clean, no breeches to whiten, no buttons to polish, or hair to dress. When the soldiers remain in garrison, they are generally not permitted to marry; but when they are, there is an extraordinary allowance for their wives and children.

Some considerable improvements have been made of late in the russian army; and the wars and revolutions of the present times, which, according to the philosophers, are to improve the whole human race, have certainly tended in Russia,

fia, as in other countries, to ameliorate the hard condition of the private foldiers.

NAVY.

The fleet of the BALTIC was established by Peter I. at St. Petersburg, at Cronstadt, and at Reval.

In 1793, this fleet was composed of thirty-four ships of the line * and twelve frigates.

In 1794, admiral Pavlishen brought from Archangel to Cronstadt †, six ships of the line and four frigates: in all, forty ships of the line and sixteen frigates.

Besides these there were several bomb-ketches, gun-boats, cutters, and other small vessels.

The galley-fleet of the Baltic consisted of near four hundred gallies, which for the most part mounted guns.



The fleet of the EUXINE, established by Peter I. was but of little consequence, till the

* There were in number forty-nine; but we speak here only of such as were fit to keep the sea.

† The ships built in the ports of the Baltic are of oak, and those which come from Archangel of larch timber.

time when prince Potemkin took possession of the Crimea.

In 1793, there were at Sevastopol and Adjibey *, under the orders of admiral Utschakof, eight ships of the line, of from 66 to 74 guns, and twelve frigates from 36 to 40 guns †.

At Nicolayef and at Adjider ‡, two hundred chebeks, gun-boats, and other vessels with oars.

The squadron of the CASPIAN was established by tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, the father of Peter I.

In 1793 it was composed of three small frigates, one bomb-ketch, and five corvettes.

EXPENDITURE.

	Rubles.
The support of the army costs somewhat less than - - -	6,000,000
The support of the navy about	1,500,000
All the other ordinary expences amount to - - -	3,500,000
Total	<u>11,000,000</u>

* Adjibey is a harbour newly constructed for large ships, between Otchakof and the Dniestr.

† Almost all the cannons were of brass.

‡ Adjider is at the mouth of the Liman and of the Dniestr.

REVENUES.

REVENUES.

Rubles.

The revenues of Russia, proceeding from the capitation, the tributes, the produce of the mines, the duties on merchandize, monopolies, &c. amount to about			-	32,500,000
From Taurida and Caucasus				3,000,000
From Poland, about			- -	7,000,000
From Courland, about			-	2,000,000
Total of the revenues				<u>45,000,000</u>

Accordingly, a surplus of revenue remained of 34,000,000 of rubles, which was employed to the maintenance of the tribunals, the various public institutions, in pensions, in entertainments, in presents, and extraordinaries of all kinds. It was not sufficient for the administration of Catharine II. since she frequently raised loans in Holland, Genoa, Venice, and other countries.

TITLE OF THE EMPRESS.

Formerly the sovereign was always styled, Great Duke, or Great Prince, in russ Velikie Knæs. If, according to some of the russian analysts, Nøvgorod and Kief were already in the ninth century great-dukedoms, then the origin of that

that title is apparent: yet the primitive signification of the term might lead us to suppose that it was meant thereby to distinguish the sovereign from the other princes, especially the reigning ones, of whom there were always several in Russia as far back as authentic history reaches. But all the russian principalities have been now, 1800, united into one monarchy under one sole ruler for 336 years.

Ivan Vassillievitch declared himself *tzar* *, as is generally affirmed, in the year 1547; though this title is expressly attributed in history to russian sovereigns of a period far more remote; whether it was actually borne by them, or whether the old annalists added it merely to signify indiscriminately a monarchical dignity, or modern historians have arbitrarily applied it to them without sufficient reason. It denotes, in the russian bible, a king; yet the ancient russian writers make use of it also when speaking of the greek emperors †.

Russia,

* Thus, we are told by Lomonosof, in his ancient russian history, that Vladimir the faint, who died in 1015, on his marriage with the greek princess, took upon him the title of *tzar*. The same author says, in his abridged chronicle, that not only Vladimir Vsevolodovitch Monomachus, who began his reign in 1114, was crowned *tzar* of all Russia; but also that Vassilly Ivanovitch, who died in 1535, first wrote himself in the last year of his reign, *tzar* and self-holder of all Russia.

† Even the derivative *tzarstvo* means kingdom; thus in the pater-

Russia, from the extent of its domains, to which no kingdom can be compared, but which itself consists of several kingdoms, had long merited the name of an empire. Peter I. on having the title of emperor given him by some of his chief subjects, chose to assume it in the year 1721, and it has since been borne by all the

paternoster *tsarsvoe* *tvoe*, thy kingdom; but also in general it signifies empire; it is even used for the kingdoms of nature. At present in russia a king is *korol*, and thence *korolevstvo* a kingdom. — Moreover, it is only the Russians, and not the other slavonian nations, who by *tsar* denote a sovereign. And this brings on the question, whence the word is derived? It is scarcely imaginable that it has been formed by an abbreviation of *Cæsar* and *Tzelar*; for throughout the new testament, where the word occurs it was rendered by *kefar*, perhaps from the greek bible, which came into Russia with the christian religion; this was afterwards changed into *tzesar*, and that again has been altered into *imperator*. Let us hazard a conjecture here: In the old russian year-books mention is frequently made of tartarian and Siberian *tzars* and *tzarevitches* (*tzars' sons*); thus, among numberless other instances, we find, the *tsar* of the golden horde, the *tsar* of the Krim, the *tsar* of Kazan. This title has not been negligently introduced and appropriated by the russian historians: for the sovereigns of Russia have borne it since the conquest of those kingdoms, to this very day, as it stands in the imperial title: “*tsarina* of Kazan, *tsarina* of “*Siberia*, &c.” We may therefore suppose, with the highest probability, that the russian nation, on finding these *tzars* among the neighbouring people, borrowed the title from them, and adopted it into the russian language, to which it is entirely foreign.

russian

russian sovereigns; being called in the russian tongue, if an emperor, *Imperator* *, and *Imperatritza* if an empress. Two foreign courts at first had some scruples in acknowledging this title †, but they were soon removed: all potentates give the imperial title to the sovereigns of Russia.

The usual abbreviated title in ukases, in decrees, orders, petitions, &c. is *imperator* and *autocrator* ‡, or *imperatritza* and *autocratrix*, of all Russia or of all the Russias. The expression *autocrator* implies the sovereign and unlimited authority; and the addition, of all Russia, or of all

* In like manner in Russia the emperor of Germany is styled *Imperator*; but the king of the Romans is called *Rimsky tzar*.

† The french court would not at first acknowledge the russian monarch directly for emperor, but only for "russian emperor." A very curious distinction. The german emperor is still emperor, and so is the russian.

‡ In russ it is uniformly *samoderjetz vserossyiskie*, or, when spoken of an empress, *samoderjitzza vserossyiskaia*. The addition, as properly an adjective, is not completely rendered by either of the expressions above, *of all Russia*, or *of all the Russias*; the english, any more than the german, having no suitable term for it. Every attempt at a more exact translation would have either idiom, or gender, or syntax against it, and at last would look like trifling. — *Samoderjetz* is compounded of *sam*, *self*, and *derjetz*. If the latter come from *derju*, I keep, or hold, then *samoderjetz* is a *self-bolder*: and so it is translated in the ukases that are issued in the german tongue by the senate, *selbsthaller*.

the

the Russias *, relates to the junction of all the formerly distinct principalities into a monarchy, under one sole ruler.

When written at length the title is thus: By the grace of God, Catharine II. † empress and autocratrix of all the Russias, of Mosco, Kief, Vladimir, Novgorod, tzarina of Kazan, tzarina of Astrakhan, tzarina of Siberia, tzarina of the Tauridan Cherfonnese, lady of Pskove, and grand duchess of Smolensk, princess of Esthonia, Livonia, Karelia ‡, Tver, Yugoria §, Permia, Viatka, Bulgaria, and other countries: lady and grand duchess of Novgorod of the low country ||, of Tschernigof, Riazane, Polotsk, Rostof, Yaroslavl,

* Whoever should imagine that by this term is implied the several divisions of Russia at present existing, namely, Great Russia, Little Russia, Red Russia, White Russia, would have the testimony of history against him. For, long ere Little Russia, for example, was subjected to the Russian monarchs, they bore the title of self-holder of all the Russias.

† The sovereigns of Russia never put their name before that of the Almighty Monarch of the Universe.

‡ By Karelia is meant the present government of Vyburg, generally called Finland.

§ This is a part of the government of Archangel, namely the district of Pustozero, about the mouth of the Petschora. Yugoria is an obsolete name, of which some few appear in the imperial title, which have been retained from very remote periods: commonly they denote but small tracts of country.

|| Meaning Nishney-Novgorod: *nishney* in russ signifies *low*.

Bieloserð, Udoria *, Obdoria †, Kondia ‡, Vitsepsk, Mstislavl, sovereign of the whole northern region, and lady of the country of Iveria §; of the kartalinian and grufinian tzars ||, and of the kabardinian country, of the Tſcherkassians, and of the mountain-princes, and of others hereditary lady and sovereign.

* Likewise an obsolete name, which formerly denoted the region about the river Mefen, especially towards its mouth.

† By this obsolete name, originating from the river Oby, is meant the region adjacent to Bereſof, in the government of Tobolſk. Tzar Vaſſilly Ivanovitch was the first who put Obdoria into his title.

‡ In the ukases published on the accession to the government, beginning with the imperial title, *e. g.* of the year 1762, and in other public acts which contain it, we find Condinia; and so says Busching. But in the two letters of grace before mentioned, of the year 1785, it is expressly written Kondia, and therefore that name is retained above: moreover, as it denotes the region circumjacent to the river Konda, where it falls into the Irtiſh, it may properly be so called. It is found in the imperial title ever since the reign of Vaſſilly Ivanovitch.

§ Persons of extensive information, of whom we inquired, were unable to point out the situation of this place: perhaps we should look for it in the district of Valdai, where the famous old Iverian monastery is still standing.

|| That is, the georgian tzars. We have seen, in the foregoing history, that the czar of Kartalinia, in the year 1783, submitted himself, his successors, and all his dominions, solemnly and publicly, to the russian sovereignty: but these countries long before appeared in the imperial title, as the former tzars of them had put themselves under the russian protection.

In

In the *letter of grace*, granted by the empress to all the nobility, she adds the following illustration: "It is known to all nations, that this title
" of our sole sovereignty is not that of an ima-
" ginary empire not in subjection to us; nor does
" it contain foreign principalities, provinces,
" towns, and countries, but expresses our wide-
" extended and numerous possessions by the short-
" est denominations*.

It may further be remarked, that in the earlier ukases and manifestos, it always ran: "By the
" grace of God, we Catharine II. &c." but in the two *letters of grace* it is: "By God's assisting
" grace, we Catharine II. &c." — Majesty is expressed in russ by *velitschestvo*, which indeed signifies *sovereignty*, but originally imports *greatness*, as derived from *veliki*, great.

* Many countries and provinces, subject to the russian sovereignty, indeed do not appear by name in the imperial title: for example, the country of the Kirghises, and the Tschuktshis lately brought into subjection to it, without mentioning the islands in the Eastern-ocean, which never belonged to Siberia.

C H A P. XVII.

State of literature, arts, and sciences at St. Petersburg, during the reign of Catharine II.

IT would be next to impossible to give a complete view of all the new and remarkable productions in the republic of russian literature, as critical journals, literary advertisements, and even copious book-catalogues are here extremely rare. There is no other way of acquiring any information of this nature, than by inquiring at the different book-shops after recent publications, and therefore it is late before even important and interesting works come to the knowledge of the public. However, by the assistance and communications of several literary acquaintance, in addition to the result of our own inquiries, we can venture to present the reader with the most considerable productions of the russian authors during the reign of Catharine II. Defective and dry as such an account must be for want of room for critical and analytical disquisitions on the several authors, and the subjects of their publications, yet it will be found not entirely deficient in results that may

may enable us to form a judgment on the state of national literature.

Deceived by the obscurity that overspreads the history of the middle ages, we are apt to see in the Russians of that period only a warlike, but rude and uncivilized people, entirely strangers to arts and sciences. The traces of a superior cultivation which appear in the annalists*, and which the industry of modern historians have drawn forth to light, are sufficient refutations of this inveterate prejudice, and establish the probability, that previous to the well known subjugation by the Tartars, there was a period when the Russian nation merited the appellation of a civilized people. The knowledge and the use of the cyrillish characters, and the Slavonian translation of the bible in the ninth century; the schools which afterwards the grand duke Vladimir founded; the inclination of that prince to the fine arts; the poetical paraphrase of the psalms, which about that time began to be sung in the churches; the code of civil law which Yaroslav Vladimirovitch gave to the Novogradians about the year 1019; the splendor of his court, which even foreign contemporary historians mention with astonishment; lastly, the monuments of painting, an art which revived in Russia

* For a more particular account of Nestor and the other annalists, see professor Schloetzer's pieces in the selections from foreign journals, published by Debrett, vol. ii. p. 293.

earlier by a whole century than in Italy : all these, and numberless other evidences of a considerable degree of culture, leave no room to doubt that the Russians of those times had attained to a pitch of improvement, which the other nations of Europe did not reach till a much later æra. Under the domination of the Tartars, this fair dawn of a glorious day was entirely clouded ; and, during that dismal epocha, the distanced nations of our quarter of the globe so far outstripped the Russians, that to this moment, notwithstanding the great exertions they have made, they have not been able to recover their ground. Rouzed by the sentiment of their oppression to an unintermitted resistance, the disposition to the arts of peace, for which they had been so honourably distinguished, was lost in that martial fury which rendered their name so formidable in later ages : till at length it required the successive exertions of two great princes to revive the dormant faculties, and to connect the name of a brave and spirited, with the more amiable epithet of a humane and enlightened nation.

With the reign of Peter the Great, began a new epocha in the civilization of Russia. A new and vast territory was conquered for the sciences ; useful branches of knowledge, like exotic plants, were transplanted and throve in this soil ; the national genius expanded itself under the genial breath of a more mild and prosperous age : the
language

language was depurated, enriched, and formed; authors of talents appeared and produced works which excited the enthusiasm of the nation, and the esteem of foreigners. A short slumber succeeded to this shining period, apparently not so much the effect of a premature effort, as of the neglect under which the capacities of the country languished.

Catharine the second arose, and diffused around her a renovated and increased animation. Encouraged by the example of this great monarch, who held it not beneath her dignity to carry the torch before the national genius, it once more ventured, with still bolder efforts, to engage in the noblest strife of mortals, the contention for excellence in intellectual and moral improvement. The progress she made in emulating her more cultivated neighbours, is worthy the attention of the rest of Europe. A philosophical sketch of russian literature previous to the days of Peter the Great, as it was through his means, and as it now is, must be an interesting fragment for the history of mankind. — All that we can here pretend to communicate are single strokes, which, however complete they may be in themselves, without combination with the whole must ever afford only partial conclusions, and can lead to no certain judgment.

THEOLOGY, or what sometimes bears that name, was no where entirely neglected in the bar-

barous times of the middle ages; and, on the revival of the sciences, was one of the first departments in which ingenious men endeavoured to excel. Accordingly in Russia this field did not lie totally uncultivated, as is proved by the contents of the monastic libraries: but it was reserved for the age of Catharine to give birth to a plainer system and a popular christian morality *. Who can be ignorant of the name and the merit of the venerable Plato? His *compendium of christian theology*, translated into several languages, has gained him, even among the members of foreign communions, the reputation of an enlightened divine and a useful author. It is well known that in the service of the greek church, pulpit discourses were rarely held; the late empress, who clearly perceived their utility, and knew the effect which the public delivery of lessons of a superior morality, substantiated by the example of the Divine Author of our religion, must have upon the hearts of men, gave great encouragement to sacred eloquence with the utmost energy and the happiest effects. Among the prelates who distinguished themselves by their

* Theophan Prokopovitch was the first russian divine who reduced the dogma, and the characteristic doctrines of his church, to a consistent system. His principal work is composed in latin, under the title of *Christiana orthodoxa theologia*. His spiritual discourses, which are deemed classical performances, are sometimes read in the churches during divine service. He died archbishop of Novgorod in the year 1793.

homiletical talents and as authors, are principally to be noticed, Gabriel metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg, Innocentius archbishop of Pskove and Riga, and Irenæus bishop of Kaschin and Tver. The sermons of these worthy divines are profitable, not alone to the reading class of the nation, but as they are delivered occasionally in the churches by imperial command.—Her Majesty's institutions for instruction in the elements of religion, and for disseminating among the common people a rational persuasion, instead of a blind attachment to outward ceremonies, are universally known and approved.

LAW has been hitherto the poorest department of russian literature. Excepting the lectures which are given at the university of Mosco, there is no public tuition in this science; a tolerable knowledge of the laws of the country, and a moderate share of natural or acquired logic, are sufficient for forming a tolerable practitioner. The whole produce therefore of this field of literature is confined to several *collections*, which have been made from the old law-books, and of the *ukases* of Peter the Great and his successors. The æra which Catharine's legislation forms in the history of the russian constitution, will probably be favourable to the advancement of this study, as in the new institutions for the administration of justice, and in all the ordinances relating to it, a more consistent plan prevails, which renders the scientific

D D 4

culture

culture of this system, and the reductions of it to general principles, not only practicable, but even in some degree necessary *. A singularly remarkable phenomenon in this department must not be here unnoticed: the russian translation of *Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England*, which was some years since brought out by imperial command.

Even MEDICINE was but lately in so uncultivated a state, that in the year 1770 perhaps there were not three books on medical subjects. The progress of russian literature in this department is the more remarkable, as a great part of the treatises and works relating to it were composed in the latin tongue, and therefore cannot here be quoted. Among the physicians who have deserved well of their country in this art, the following have come to our knowledge: Ambodik, privy-counsellor and professor of midwifery, who has eminently contributed to the enriching of russian medical literature. He is the author of a plain and practical *Manual of the art of midwifery*, a *Physiology*, a *Materia medica*, and an *Anatomical physiological dictionary*, in russ, latin, and french. An enlarged and reformed translation of Saucerotte's celebrated *Examen*, under the title of, *A brief examination of inveterate prejudices and notions concerning pregnant*

* A *system of russian legislation* appeared about six or seven years ago at Mosco.

women, lying-in-women, and new-born children; a book that has already gone through several editions, is also from his pen. He is likewise the translator of Schreiber's guide to the knowledge and cure of outward and inward diseases, and of Home's *Principia medicinae*. Tissot's writings: *Avís au peuple*, and of the disorders incident to the learned, are also translated into the russ; the former by the academician Ozeretzkofsky, and the latter by Dr. Schumliansky; who is likewise the author of a treatise on the *Perfection of the most useful science* *. Various small medical pieces of M. Tichorsky can only be generally mentioned here, as we have no distinct and accurate knowledge of them. The ravages made several years ago by the plague in some districts of the russian empire occasioned a multitude of writings on this dreadful scourge of the human race, whereof several are become honourably known abroad †; on this occasion too Dr. Richard Mead's dissertation on the plague was translated into russ. *Von Swieten's* description of camp sicknesses has found a translator in Dr. Terekhofsky; and baron Dimsdale's *Method of inoculating the small-pox*, in an anonymous admirer. — With the same laudable zeal as the foregoing russian physicians, several Germans, who were sufficiently masters of the language, bestowed their talents

* Medicine.

† For example, Dr. Samoilovitch's dissertation on the plague, of which a german translation has appeared.

and industry in adding to the riches of this department. Dr. Bacheracht published a popular book on several diseases; another on intemperance in sensual enjoyments; a proposal for preserving the health of seamen; a treatise on the scurvy; and some others. M. Vien, secretary of the college of medicine, published a very complete *Loimology*. The privy-counsellor Peken is the author of a *Physiology* and *Pyretology*, for use at lectures; and the translator of Richter's *Elements of surgery*. Spedikati wrote a controversial piece on the scurvy against Bacheracht. A translation of Gaubii *Institutiones pathologiae medicin.* was published by professor Hoffmann. An entirely new appearance, the first of its kind, is a medical weekly publication in rufs, conducted by two physicians of St. Petersburg, Dr. Uhden and Dr. Ellisen.

Whatever pleasure we feel in contemplating this rapid progress of medical literature, we can find none in the survey of PHILOSOPHICAL, which, besides an elementary book of natural law by Solotnitzky, has no original work, and, besides the translations of detached articles of the french *Encyclopedie*, has no version to produce, if we except the petty brochures which may be classed in the district of morals *. The field of POLITICAL

* It must be remembered that we speak only of Petersburg. Mosco has in this, as well as in many other departments of literature, produced good original works and translations. A periodical

ŒCONOMY is not altogether so barren ; though the whole produce of it consists in translations. The most important of them is undoubtedly Montesquieu's *Esprit des loix* by Kramarenkof. The same author's tract *Sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence de l'empire romain* ; St. Pierre's philosophical dream of an everlasting peace ; Calliere's work *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* ; &c. have likewise found translators. Justi's *Foundation of the authority of governments* is put into rufs by the assessor Bogajefsky, and that well-known book, *Les intérêts des nations de l'Europe relativement au commerce*, by Baschilof. We shall only mention farther the translation of Necker's book *De l'administration des finances de la France* ; and the adaptation of Bechmann's *Forest-calendar* to the exigencies of the russian empire, as these publications are the most important of their species. ON RURAL ŒCONOMY a great number of particular tracts have appeared, indebted mostly for their existence to the œconomical society. The collection already published by the society form a considerable agricultural library, amounting now to upwards of forty volumes.

periodical publication, the Mosco journal, set up not long since, is endeavouring to supply this defect. One object of this magazine seems to be to call the attention of the public to the great revolution which Kant has brought about in philosophy.

In

IN PHYSICS and NATURAL HISTORY, which ten or fifteen years ago could scarcely shew a single book, and for which a new language was to be framed, much has lately been produced. The original investigations with which the academicians Lepekhin, Ozeretzkofsky, Sokolof, Suyef, &c. have enriched these sciences, are known to the learned abroad through the works of the academy. The french tract of count Gregory Razumofsky on mineralogy, and various papers of the same author inserted in the acts of the helvetic society, are a proof how much the study of nature is prized and prosecuted even among the great. But still greater notice is due to the attempts to extend the culture of physics and natural history in the national tongue. Among the greatest and most brilliant undertakings of this kind must be reckoned the complete, as far as possible, *Flora Rossica*, or botanical and œconomical description of all the plants growing wild in Russia, with plates drawn and coloured from nature, by the academician Pallas, at the command of the empress. To say any thing of the execution of this work would be superfluous, as the public of all Europe is in possession of specimens of it, and withal as something extraordinary was to be expected from the plan of such a princess as Catharine the Second, from the means afforded by such a country as Russia, and from the abilities of such a man as Pallas. The engravings
amount

amount to upwards of six hundred. The magnificence with which this work appears is worthy of such an undertaking : it is printed at the imperial expence, and is, in all respects, a noble present to the sciences and the country, as the copies are only distributed gratis. — Among the original works, belonging to the department of natural history, Suyef's elements of this science, for the use of the higher schools, and Lepekhin's tract on the necessity of examining into the medicinal virtues of the indigenous plants, deserve to be mentioned on account of the utility of their design. The translations, made with a view to facilitate the study of natural knowledge, may be disposed in the following order : Locke's Elements of physics ; anonymous : Euler's Letters to a german princess, by the academician Rumofsky : Krafft's Plan of a course of physical experiments, from the french manuscript of Schirokoy : Macquer's Elements of theoretical and practical chemistry, by Florinsky : Erxleben's chemistry, by Sokolof : Leske's natural history, by Ozeretzkofsky : Cronstedt's mineralogy, after Brunnich's edition, by Kurduman : Valch's lapidarium, and Lehmann's mineralogy, by Nartof : Kirwan's mineralogy and Renovantz mineralogical description of the mines of the Altay mountains, by the academician Severgin : Canerin's elements of mine and salt-works, &c.

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The attempts of the natives in the MATHEMATICAL sciences are not merely confined to the papers which the academicians Kotelnikof, Rumofsky, Inokhodzof, &c. have published in the *Acta Petropolitana*. An essay by the former on the doctrine of equipoize and the motion of bodies; Siretuschkín's plan for the improvement of land-surveying; the elementary books of mathematics by Koselsky, Anitschkof, and Rumofsky; a manual for voyages by sea, &c. are among the later original performances. Among the translations we are to distinguish those of Wolff's compend. elem. Matheseos, Euler's theory of the construction, &c. of ships by Golovin, and Veidler's guide to the knowledge of mines. A translation of the algebra of the academician Fufs has lately appeared.

We pass by the department of the MILITARY ART, which has been latterly enriched by several original works and translations, in order to make the reader acquainted with the most remarkable productions in HISTORY, which the imperial residence produced towards the close of the late reign. On no field of literature has so much labour been bestowed, and none has such excellent fruits to shew. By the example and encouragement of the empress great pains have been taken to dispel the obscurity in which the early accounts of the country were involved. In 1779 Catharine gave orders to the college of foreign affairs to employ persons,

persons, for the benefit of russian history, in making a collection of public treaties, antient and modern, after the model of the *Corps diplomatique* of Dumont, under the direction of the celebrated professor Muller of Mosco, keeper of the archives of that college. She afterwards issued a command to the synod to make dilligent search for old russian manuscripts in the two libraries belonging to that sacred body; and then, under the care and inspection of persons competent to the undertaking, to cause, first, the most antient and most difficult to be understood, and afterwards the rest to be faithfully transcribed and printed. This order was presently after followed by another, to ransack the libraries of all the monasteries throughout the empire for chronicles and other manuscripts relative to the country. These commands, the satisfaction which the persons employed experienced in the perusal of these manuscripts, and the rewards with which several of them were further encouraged, soon had the wished-for effects; effects of such importance to the elucidation of russian history, that a great number of curious writings, for the most part entirely unknown before, and the rest extremely rare, were laid before the public. The following, which have come to our knowledge, we can mention by name:

The *Book of the tzars*, or annals of the reign of tzar Ivan Vassillievitch, from September 1533 to March 1553. From a MS written on loose sheets
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in the patriarchal library of Mosco, published by prince Schtscherbatof. The rest, most probably, had been consumed for waste paper.

Journal of Peter the Great, from the year 1698 to the peace of Nyftadt (October, 1721) printed from that in the imperial cabinet, written with the emperor's own hand. The editor is prince Schtscherbatof, who had permission from the empress to examine the archives there of Peter the Great, and to put them in order.

Annals of the empire, reach from 1414 to 1472. The editor is prince Schtscherbatof. The MS was found in the library of prince Gallitzin.

Year-book of the intestine disturbances and devastations of the moscovite empire, from 1584 to 1655. This was taken by M. Muller as his guide in his essay towards a modern history of Russia. The editor is unknown.

Fidler's panegyric on tzar Borice Godunof. From the latin MS by Voronof.

Campaign of the boyar and commander Schein, (1696) from a MS by Ruban.

The old annalist, from 1254 to 1379, by order of the empress, from a MS in the academy of sciences.

Letters and ukases of Peter the Great to vice-admiral Sinævin. The originals are in the hands of his son admiral Sinævin, who published them.

Life

Life of the patriarch Nikon. From several manuscripts.

An historical journal, under the title of *The old russian library*, by Novikof, containing accounts of embassies, curious letters, description of antient usages, historical and geographical particulars, works of the old russian bards, &c.

Not content, by her wise institutions, with having opened an access to historical facts, Catharine II. gave a model, in her *Pieces relating to russian history*, well known throughout Europe, in what manner the history of the country should be sought out and treated. A challenge of this sort, from so high a quarter, could not be long without effect. Without reverting to the times of Sumarokof, of Tatishchef, and Lomonosof, the first russian historians who had the art of combining historical criticism and representation together, we shall content ourselves with barely noticing the most remarkable original productions of the last twenty years. The most honourable place in this series is held by the *Russian history* of prince Schtscherbatof, who employed his indefatigable activity for the greater part of his life in becoming the historian of his country. Of the success of his endeavours, the less need here be said, as the book is known abroad by a german translation. *The critique on le Clerc's history of antient and modern Russia*, by major general Boltin, lately deceased, is esteemed by all judges of russian literature as an

excellent performance, in which doubtful facts and antiquated errors are corrected with penetration and accuracy. Tschulkof's *History of the Russian commerce* is a work such as few nations have to shew. Supported by the bounty of the empress, and furnished with all the sources which manuscripts and archival accounts could communicate to the author, he has produced a complete system of the former and present state of russian commerce, which, both on account of its circuit and the abundance of its facts, stands alone in russian literature. *The history of Peter the Great* has been treated by several authors. Among the better attempts, Golikof's history of that monarch and *The collection of various writings concerning the life and acts of Peter the Great*, by Tumanisky, must be distinguished. Yelaghin, an author who had already acquired a reputation by several literary productions, was still employed at the time of Catharine's decease, in compiling a russian history, from which great expectations were formed. *The historical picture of Russia*, by Bogdanovitch; Ruban's *chronicle of little Russia*; Kreftimin's *people on the Dvina*; Tumanisky's *sketch of a life of the grand duke Alexander Nefsky*, &c. are among the known works in the historical department. A history of the armenian Empire, by Vaganof, is deserving a place here, as it is drawn from writers of that nation, and may therefore be regarded as a primitive source. The following may serve

as instances of the translations, as remarkable either for the selection of authorities, or for their acknowledged value. *History of John Sobiesky*, by Bogayefsky : *St. Real's Conspiracy of the Spaniards against Venice* : *Vertot's Revolutions of the roman republic* : *Mably's Grecian history* : *Stritter's Account of the byzantine historians* : *D'Alembert's Memoirs and reflections concerning Christina, queen of Sweden* : *Fisher's Siberian history* : *Muller's Treatise on the antient inhabitants of Russia* : *Robertson's History of Charles V* : *Genealogical history of the Tartars*, by Abulgafi baatur khan : *History of Denmark*, by Mallet : *Puffendorf's Introduction to the history of the principal nations of Europe*, &c.

GEOGRAPHY also, which is so intimately connected with history, made such astonishing progress under the late reign, that the russian empire, which, for the greater portion of it, but thirty years before, belonged to the terra incognita, now forms a more accurate and stated rubric in the knowledge of the globe, than many other european countries. So early as the year 1765, the empress set on foot an expedition of able men for surveying the country and the frontiers, who began their labours the following year in the government of Mosco, and prosecuted them with so much diligence, that now greatly above the half of the inhabited parts of Russia is as exactly surveyed as the private possession of a careful landowner can possibly be. This wise and beneficial

undertaking, besides the infinitely great advantage it has been of to the security of property, and in easing the administration of government, has also been of service to the improvement of the country. About this time the empress ordered the academicians to travel, whereby the physical, statistical, œconomical, and moral condition of this huge and hitherto unknown country, was properly investigated and described. The voyages of discovery which Catharine appointed for the promotion of the geographical knowledge of the eastern and northern oceans; the orders and instructions which she dispatched to her governors, for inquiring into the statistical condition of the provinces; the reiterated census of the people which she ordained; the tables which she caused to be made out and sent in to the academy of sciences, of the relative proportion of births and deaths, of the prices of provisions, of customs and duties, of imports and exports; the publicity which she gave to the results of her political regulations: all these, and many other institutions, being so many great services performed in behalf of geography and statistics, have awakened a general zeal for these sciences. Hence the numerous and invaluable charts and maps of the whole empire. Among the literary productions which owe their origin to these exertions, the foremost place belongs of right to the *Journals of the academical travels*. Original works on the subject of russian statistics

statistics have multiplied so very much for some time past, that we can here only notice the titles of a few of the earlier writings of this kind. For instance, major general Pleschtscheyef's *Statistical survey of the russian empire*; a work, which in a few sheets contains such a quantity of important facts and statements, partly new and partly rectified, that the article of the russian empire, in all books of geography, must henceforth assume an aspect entirely new. Geography has likewise been a great gainer by the academician Suyef's *Journey from St. Petersburg to Kherfon, Taurida, and Constantinople*, which german industry will probably render useful to foreigners, if it be not already done. Admiral Tschitschagof's *Voyage to the Frozen-ocean* is known by a translation in Germany. Ruban's *Geographical, political, and historical accounts of Little Russia*; Anonymous *Topographical remarks on the provinces of White Russia*; the priest Irodionof's *Historical and geographical account of the city of Toropetz and its district*, &c. belong to this class. Georgi's *Historical and geographical description of St. Petersburg*. A great number of single tracts on geographical and statistical subjects on the russian empire, are found dispersed in calendars and periodical publications. In this respect the calendar of the academy of sciences is particularly abundant, to which Pallas, Guldenstrædt, Oseretzkofsky, &c. have contributed, and continue to contribute, important and

interesting memoirs. — Accounts too of foreign countries, and travels in them, at times appear, though but rarely; such as, Pleschtscheyef's *Travels from Paros to Syria*; the *description of the Archipelago and the barbarian coast*, by brigadier Kotoftzof, published by Tumanfky, &c. Affeffor Hackmann's two books, of *general* and of *russian geography*, for the use of the superior fchools, are introductions of great utility, and the more valuable, as there was nothing of the kind before. — Among the number of geographical translations, Busching's *Great geography* should be mentioned as that of the most importance.

The numerous collections of geographical maps which Russia has of late years produced, are famous abroad, not less for their intrinsic worth, as they are mostly formed on new discoveries, than for their beauty and neatness. Bachmeister's russian bibliothekue mentions by name above sixty of these collections, many of which consist of several, and some of from twenty to forty sheets. Under this head, fall the two special maps of the Mosco circle, which were prepared from the surveying expedition; one of them is fifty arshines in dimension; the other is printed on two sheets imperial, by the imperial academy of sciences: the general map of the russian empire, according to the new division, by prince Væfemfky; eight sheets, in length three and three quarter arshines, and one and three quarters in height: the academy's

demy's Atlas of the russian empire, begun in 1767, every province forming a distinct map.—The grand Atlas of the government of Kaluga is the most excellent of this kind, an undertaking which, out of France, has not perhaps its equal in any country. This Atlas is likewise one of the fruits of the surveying expedition, and consists of three parts: 1. The general map of the Kaluga government. 2. Twelve plans of the twelve capital towns of the circles; illuminated plot of each town, with their slobodes, gardens, &c. 3. Eight-and-twenty plans of the twelve circles. On these plans are marked arable land and forest, roads, and bridges. Every possession, belonging either to a corporation or a private person, is inclosed and marked with letters or numbers referring to the description belonging to the atlas. Where the limits are still litigable they are noted by a jagged line. When the possessions are so small as not distinctly to give room for a number, they are drawn larger on a piece of cartridge paper annexed. On the general map eight versts go to an english inch, in most of the plans of towns fifty, in the rest an hundred fathoms, in the plans of the circles two versts, in the enlarged pieces 200 fathoms. The magnificence with which this extraordinary undertaking is executed is detrimental to its utility. The description that accompanies it, in eleven columns, which refer by corresponding numbers to the atlas, contains: 1. The number on the plan

of the district. 2. The name of the property and that of its possessor. 3. The number of dwellings. 4. The number of persons of both sexes. 5. The areal dimensions of the dwellings. 6. Of the arable land. 7. Of the meadow-land. 8. Of the woodland. 9. Of the waste land. 10. The total amount of the statements one to nine. 11. Brief œconomical remarks. Whenever litigations concerning boundaries are settled, a particular appendix is to shew to whom the boundary was decreed. — The prosecution of this work, which is one of the grandest monuments of Catharine's reign, was continued to the time of her death with great spirit.

Her institution of the normal schools in all the provinces of the empire, occasioned the composition of a great number of elementary books for the lower orders of them, and others for the superior. It would be impossible to enlarge upon all these, and to enumerate them would be tedious: but, as a specimen of the religious instruction ordained to be taught in these schools, we will just mention the contents of the *short catechism*; with questions under the text, to which the scholar is to make his own answers. 1. Of the being of God, of his essence, and of the veneration which we owe him. 2. Of evangelical faith. "Faith is a sincere acceptation of the gospel. The doctrine of faith is contained in the holy scriptures, but abridged in the creed of the first council of Nice."

Nice." This creed is inserted at length. Then follow explanations of each of the twelve articles into which it is divided. 3. Of the divine law. Containing the decalogue with an explanation. 4. The Lord's prayer with illustrations. This, the ten commandments, and the Nicene creed, are in sclavonian *, but the book itself is in rufs, though printed in sclavonian characters. At the end is, " revised by the holy fynod." — *A short religious history of the church of the old and new Testaments.* The history of the latter relates particularly to the eastern, and afterwards to the greek-russian church. — The spirit of this book may be judged of from the following passage: " To the misfortune of the human race, these divisions † were of long duration ; but by the succession of enlightened times, when reigning princes applied themselves to promote the general welfare of the people, and the teachers of the church began from the holy scriptures (instead of using them as heretofore had been done, to the oppression of other religious parties) to preach the pure doctrines of Christ, namely, genuine christian love, concord, and gentleness towards all mankind, with those generous duties by which the virtuous christian and the good moral citizen are distinguished : the christian church has been ena-

* The church language.

† In the 9th and 16th centuries.

bled to survive to the present her calm and prosperous age, in which we may especially see the subjects of the wise Catharine, and we cannot see it without pleasure, living together in such union as if they were all adherents, not only to the sole christian religion, but even to one sole party of it, and praising the only God in various tongues."

Such a great number of proper school-books on the necessary and useful subjects of social and civil life, might suffice the nation for a long time. Nevertheless, translations of foreign pædagogical works still meet with considerable success. We now read in the russian language, besides many other compendiums, the excellent *Essai d'éducation nationale*, by Chalotais, Rollin's *Manière d'enseigner les belles-lettres*, the *Magazin des enfans*, and others.

The CULTURE OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE has, since Lomonosof's time, taken a quite new direction, giving room to hope for its attaining a great degree of excellence. It is not only reduced to principles and rules, securing it from the destruction of its proper structure; but, by the example of good authors, has received such abundant materials for its enrichment and elevation, from its source the sclavonian, that it has no need to borrow from any other terms and expressions for any conceivable idea. That so many foreign words, particularly in fashionable conversation, are in circulation in the russian language, proceeds from

from that heteromania, which adheres to every nation, that receives a part of its culture from foreign countries. Excepting the Germans, there is certainly no people which employs itself so much in the literature and the languages of foreign nations. The proofs of this are so common, that it would be needless to adduce examples. But it is worth while just to take notice that the Russians even cultivate languages that are not known to the rest of Europe. The translator Yaerig is maintained by the academy of sciences to study the mongolian language among that people. An author lately deceased, Leontief, of the college of foreign affairs, is the translator of a great number of philosophical, political, and historical writings from the Chinese. As a proof how important the culture of this language may be to the increase of the knowledge we have of the Chinese, we shall only mention a couple of these translations. *Su-schu-gbyei*, i. e. *four books, with expositions*. The first book of the philosopher Confucius. — *Account of the war of the Chinese with the Sengorians*, from 1677 to 1698; with a preface by the emperor Kang-si. — *Description of the towns, revenues, &c. of the chinese empire*, from the geography of the empire printed at Pekin under the present khan Kyan-Lun. An authentic piece of Chinese statistics! &c. Attempts have been also made gradually to bring under certain rules the languages and dialects, hitherto only spoken in the
vast

vast circuit of the russian empire, as may be seen by what was done by a grammar of the votiak and tſcheremiſſian languages. There is no want of books in Ruſs for learning moſt of the european tongues, eſpecially ſuch as are ſpoken in the vicinity of the empire. Dictionaries likewise multiply with progreſſive accuracy; among the later undertakings of this kind, the great *french and ruſs lexicon*, published by Weitbrecht, is conſidered as the beſt.

ANTIENT LITERATURE indeed does not, upon the whole, meet with ſo good a reception as in many other countries; but it is by no means neglected. Several pieces are annually published not only in the latin but in the greek language; the learning of them is held to be uſeful and neceſſary, and people of high diſtinction cauſe their ſons to be taught at leaſt one of them. Of the principal writers of antiquity tranſlations already exiſt; and for this too the country is indebted to the late empreſs. She appointed in the year 1768, the yearly ſum of 5000 rubles for ruſs tranſlations of good books, and commiſſioned the counts Shuvalof and Orlof, and the privy-counſellor Koſitzky, to diſpoſe of it properly. It was at the beginning declared that preference would be given to verſions of greek and roman authors; and it was attended with this good effect, that ruſſian literature obtained an advantage in this branch which it muſt otherwiſe have been long
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without. A short view of those that were done under this encouragement will not be displeasing to the reader.

GREEK. Plato's works, by Sidorofsky and Pakhomof. Hesiod's works, by Fryafinofsky. Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, by Ruban; in prose, with some explanatory mythological remarks*. Homer's *Iliad*, by Yekimof; in prose bordering on the sclavonian. Lucian's *Dialogues of the dead*, by Sidorofsky and Pakhomof. Diodorus Siculus, by Alexèyef: reckoned a very good one. Characters of Theophrastus, after the latin of Casaubon and the french of Bruyere. ROMAN: Tacitus on the ancient Germans, by Svyetof. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, by the late Kositzky, member of the academy of sciences, in prose; very much esteemed. Terence, by Kvostof, Golovin, Richmann, Florinsky, Moijenkof, and Sinsky; after le Monnier's edition, because, amongst other advantages, it is commendable for a very probably just distribution of the scenes. Horace's Odes, by Popofsky. Cicero de finibus, by Pofnikof; *consolatio*; *de natura deorum*, by Komof. The poetical passages are turned into russian verse. Julius Cæsar. Velleius Paterculus. Valerius Maximus. Suetonius. Virgil's *Georgics*. Virgil's *Æneis*, by Yekimof, and by the college-

* It had been already translated in the time of Peter the Great, by a certain Kopiefsky, and published with *Æsop's fables* at Amsterdam.

counsellor Petrof, (a famous poet, as we shall see farther on,) in alexandrines. The latter is held to be of the first excellence; with this objection, however, that it becomes, at times unintelligible by too copious an intermixture of slavonian turns and phrases: the author has therefore lately brought out a second edition, in which he has corrected much of this exuberance of erudition.

The age of Catharine, which we have seen so favourable to the muses in general, was accordingly a shining epocha for poetry. On the death of Lomonosof and Sumarokof russian literature seemed reduced to an orphan state; these two happy geniuses, who announced the day-spring of a refined taste, appeared likewise to carry it with them, together with their fame, into the grave. The path which they had pursued remained for a time untrod; but this dark interval was of no long duration. Never in any period of russian literature, has there been such a list of successful, and for the most part eminent poets to be seen, as in the present.

The fairest epocha of Sumarokof's poetical career happened in the reign of Catharine the Second *. For this reason, and because with him the first æra of russian poetry closed, we cannot

* He died in the year 1777, at Mosco, a knight of the order of St. Anne. The late empress, besides many other testimonies of her favour, settled upon him a yearly pension of two thousand rubles.

absolutely

absolutely pass him by without some farther notice. Happy in every walk in which his venturous genius chose to roam, but happier nowhere than in the dramatic sphere, Sumarokof seemed ordained to leave behind him a model in every class of his country literature. A lively but controlled fancy, a refined taste formed by the study of antient and modern writers, and a language purely classical, are the characteristic properties of his productions. Instances would indeed be more convincing than this general judgment; but even if it were possible to deliver the peculiar beauties of the original in a language so different in its whole frame and texture, yet the plan and design of our work allow us not to give specimens from the greatest master-pieces of this poet, his dramatic works.

But however honourable the niche possessed by Sumarokof's muse in the temple of Fame, great is likewise the number of those who emulate the nearest station beside his bust. Among the poets of this class, on whom posterity can already pass their sentence, must be reckoned the lately deceased Kniaëshnin, who proved himself in several kinds of poetry a successful follower of his excellent predecessor. The dramatical works with which he has enriched the theatre, unite great beauties of composition with a light harmonious versification, and a profound knowledge of the riches and strength of the language. To the most famous

famous productions of this class are to be added his tragedy of Dido and his comedy of the Boaster. A great number of miscellaneous poems, among which are several very well-imagined epistles and satires; the translation of the *Henriade* in blank verse, and a variety of essays in prose, secure to him the renown of one of the best writers of his nation. — Among the poets now living none seem to have a juster claim to immortality than the chevalier Derſchavin, not less respectable as a statesman, patriot, and philanthropist, than as an amiable author. The most unwearied diligence in his great and important sphere of action leaves him still sufficient leisure to bestow some moments in sporting with the virgins of Helicon, and in embellishing the literature of his country with the products of his original and highly-cultivated talents. Propriety, delicacy, and elegance, form the characteristics of this author: the harmony of his diction, and the melody of his flowing numbers are inimitable; he has discovered the means of combining the most luxuriant imagination with the purest taste.

Willingly would we indulge our readers with some proofs of what we advance; for translations of almost all his works are in being: but how coarse and corporeal is the shell through which the fine spirit of the original would appear! No language that we know is so full of insuperable difficulties to the translator as the Russian. It is its peculiar characteristic

characteristic throughout to render a free imitation almost impossible; and as to a faithful verbal translation, it must frequently happen that the most elegant turn or the most sublime expression becomes flat and vulgar, not to mention the great loss of the versification. A beautiful little piece of his, called the *Dream of Murza*, has been attempted in german by M. Kotzebue *; but the difficulties we speak of are not so successfully surmounted as could be wished.

Among the poets who have acquired a great and lasting reputation, the chevalier Kheraskof must not be forgotten. His heroic poems, the *Rosliad* and the battle of *Tschesme*, are the first productions of the nation in the epic class that have been attended with success; but this poet has been not less fortunate in other departments of literature. He has written tragedies and comedies which still, long after their first appearance, keep their place upon the stage, and are always seen with pleasure. In his later years he also published odes, fables, and eclogues. His last performances are *Numa Pompilius*, an historical romance, in the manner of *Telemachus*; *Cadmus and Harmonia*, a poetic tale, &c. All these works are in high esteem in Russia. — His spouse Elizabeth

* Of late well known in England by the translations that have appeared of some of his plays.

Kheraskof has likewise acquired a name as a poetess, by heroic elegies and anacreontic odes.

M. Petrof, librarian to the empress, began his career in 1775, as a narrative poet; but his very first attempts were crowned with an applause which none, since Lomonosof, have ever enjoyed to an equal degree. A bold and tumid fancy, a figurative style, and a composition which discovers cultivation and taste, advantageously distinguish his muse. Familiar with the great models of antiquity, he not only made them his study, but even the aim of his literary pursuit. His poetical translation of the *Æneis*, already mentioned, is by judges accounted a master-piece; but the author, not satisfied with it, has submitted it to a reform entirely new. A long residence in England inspired him with a fondness for british literature, and animated him to the difficult undertaking of translating the *Paradise Lost* of Milton into his mother tongue; which, though in prose, has justly added to his reputation. A few years ago he collected and published a volume of his lyric poems.

The russian drama has lately suffered a signal loss in the death of M. van Wisin *. In this poet, who promised to become the Moliere of the russian

* The name is dutch, but the family has been russian for several generations.

theatre,

theatre, were combined all the qualities requisite to that end. In his best pieces, the Brigadier, and the Spoilt child, a well-supported interest prevails, an animated dialogue and a regularity which seldom meet together in performances of similar nature. He lashes prevailing prejudices and brilliant vices with admirable keenness: his subjects being national, have for that reason the greater effect. He is likewise the elegant translator of the Marcus Aurelius of Thomás, and the Joseph of Bitaubé. — The senator Yelaghin, while employed on the russian history, occasionally added to his literary reputation as a poet. Besides several poems and satires, he is principally remarkable as the translator of some plays from de la Touche. — Kosadavlef, an agreeable writer, whose pieces are remarkable for an eminent degree of delicacy and elegance, has transplanted the Wilhelmina of Thummel, with such uncommon success, into the russian soil, that it were much to be wished that he would make a like present to his country of the travels through the southern provinces of France. — The privy-counsellor Krapovitzky, the senator Alexèy Narishkin, lieutenant-general Potemkin, the chamberlain Muravyef, the senator Rjefsky, lieutenant-general Svistunof, the privy-counsellor Lukin, and several persons of high station, have done honour to their country as poets in various branches. — Among the translators of poetical works, Bog-

danovitch has greatly signalized himself by his *Psyche* of la Fontaine; Karabanof, by his *Alzire* of Voltaire: Dmitrief, by his fables from la Fontaine; Sakharof, by his *Telemachus* and the *Death of Abel*; Popof by his *Jerusalem delivered*, the *Essay on Man**, and several others. Kapnist and Krilof have acquired fame in the excursions of satire, Offipof has published an *Æneas* travesty, in the manner of Blumauer, and nationalized all the foreign allusions. — But we must here break off, as this list, which might be greatly enlarged, without some acquaintance with the poetry itself, can have no interest for foreign readers.

Good prose-writers of the various classes have been already mentioned in such numbers, that it is needless to say any thing more of them. No department of russian literature is so richly furnished as that of ROMANCE. The greater part of them consists of translations, which cannot always, either in regard to selection or language, be deemed models of perfection. The dullest productions of the german press, which have long been forgotten at home, here often receive a second existence, and help to corrupt the national taste. That very excellent exceptions are here to be made, is naturally understood. To these

* It is a singular incident, that this most excellent translation of Pope's essay should be made by a Popof.

belong the translations of Humphrey Clinker by Sakharof; of Gil Blas, by Tieplof; of Joseph Andrews, of Tom Jones, of Robinson Crusoe, the Sorrows of Werter, Florian's Numa Pompilius, Diable Boiteux, Nouvelles, and several others.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS have hitherto made no progress with the public. Of all that have been set up, few have been continued for more than three or four years. The Petersburg magazine, begun in 1778, was the first undertaking of the kind; but soon dropped for want of encouragement. A similar fate befel the monthly academical accounts, begun by the academy of sciences in 1779, and was to contain extracts from new publications, new inventions, &c. it lasted only till 1781. "The assistant to the lovers of the russian language," a journal conducted by very celebrated writers, fell to the ground at the conclusion of the first year. Among those that still proceed, are the "Monthly tracts" commenced by the academy in 1786, and the "Russian mercury" by Kluschin and Krilof, are the most known.

We here close our view of russian literature, during a period of about twenty years. Incomplete as the materials were from which it is drawn up, yet we have been obliged purposely to leave some of them unused, to avoid falling into a tiresome detail, which, even with the greatest pro-

licity could not be made very instructive to the reader. The conclusion from this slight sketch arises so naturally of itself, as to stand in need of no farther exposition.

The foreigners at St. Petersburg, especially the Germans, form a literary public of themselves, among whom are authors of great reputation and merit. The academicians *Æpinus*, *Pallas*, *Georgi*, *Fufs*, *Herrmann*, &c. have acquired such a celebrity abroad by useful writings, discoveries, and the like, beyond their academical sphere; that it is sufficient to have cited their names. *Schroeter* in agriculture, the chemist *Lovitz*, the mineralogist *Renovantz*, the physicians *Mohrenheim*, *Uhden*, and others, are certainly not unknown to any readers of the learned world, any more than the names of *Nikolai*, *Klinger*, *Soltau*, (the translator of *Hudibras*,) and madam von *Krook*, are to the lovers of the belles lettres.

Of the state of the ARTS in St. Petersburg no circumstantial account can be expected in a book of this kind. A general outline will be quite sufficient.

The gallery of the academy of arts is open to the public once a year for a fortnight, in the summer, and contains a good collection of antiques, works of art, and paintings. Among the most valuable are six grand hunting-pieces by *Rubens*, a present from the late dukes of Kingston. It
would

would be to no purpose to attempt giving a complete list of the artists here : the principal of them in each class are :

PAINTERS. Groth, a German ; one of the best painters of animals now living. — Hune, a German ; history-painter, a disciple of Tischbein, Torelli, Mengs *. — Knappe, a German ; plants and animals : by this artist, whose works are in high estimation, are the drawings in the Flora Rossica. — Meys, from Hennegau ; history † : — Tischbein, a German ; court-architect, scene painter, and inventor of decorations : he painted the curtain at the opera-house. — Mayr, a German ; in the service of the academy of sciences : designer and painter. — Stahn, a German ; arcanist to the imperial porcelain manufactory, and an eminent porcelain painter. — Mettenleither, a Swiss ; famous in landscapes. — Gonzago, an excellent painter of decorations. — Levitzky, a Russian, professor of the academy ; a very celebrated portrait-painter. — Koslof, a Russian, some years since deceased, of the academy, director of the tapestry manufactory ; a history-painter of singular merit.

ENGRAVERS. Skorodumof, a Russian ; for-

* The taking possession of Taurida, a large allegorical picture.

† The journey of the empress to Taurida : which is also engraved.

merly a pupil of the academy : his works are as well known as his name. — James Walker, an Englishman, in the service of the court : among his excellent performances are, the empress in her travelling dress, prince Potemkin, general Lanskoï, admiral Greig, and others. — Schlepper, a native of St. Petersburg. — Pellerini, an Italian.

STATUARIES. Rachette, a Frenchman : professor of the academy, modeller to the porcelain manufactory *. — Schubin, a Russian †. — Mofchalof, a Russian ; artist in casting of metals ‡. — Ivanof, a Russian §. — Gardeyef, a Russian. — Frediani, an Italian. — Khailof, a Russian ||.

ARCHITECTS. Koselof, a Russian β. — Guarenghi, an Italian, and one of the first artists in his department §. — Feldten, of St. Petersburg δ. — Starof, a Russian ; architect to the court λ. —

* The Cybele in count Bezborodke's gardens ; busts of Leonhard Euler, &c.

† Busts of the imperial family.

‡ The Farnese Hercules, and the Flora at Tzarskoefelo.

§ The baptism of Olga.

|| Had a share in casting the statue of Peter the great.

β The palace of Pella, belonging to the grand-duke Alexander Pavlovitch.

§ The new exchange, the court theatre, and a number of other grand edifices.

δ St. Catharine's, St. Anne's, and the armenian churches, the Lombard, and several other structures.

λ The Pantheon, the new church in the Nefsky monastery.

Trom-

Trombara, an Italian *. — Charles Cameron, an Englishman ; court-architect for Tzarskoefelo †.

MUSICIANS. The leaders of the chapel choir, Astarita, Cimarosa, Martini. — Violins : Tietz, a Petersburger ; Cannobi, Masener, Chandoschkin. — Harpsichord : Palscho, a Dane ; Hefsler and Bauerschmidt, two admired performers, especially on the organ. — Behr, famous on the clarinet. — Maresch, a Bohemian, one of the inventors of prince Potemkin's famous hunting-music. — Pratsche had the greatest share in setting the russian popular ballads to notes.

GARDENING. — Joseph Bush, an Englishman ; court-gardener at Tzarskoe-selo. — Gould, an Englishman ; the imperial gardens at Peterhoff, those of the Tauridan palace, and chief-gardener to prince Potemkin. — Gem-cutters, medallists, &c. are Gass, Zollner, Koenig, Lamoni, Radi, Judin, &c.

It appears from this short view, in which it is probable that several famous names may be omitted, that St. Petersburg has a considerable number of excellent artists to produce. The list of the mechanical arts would not be less copious if it were possible for us to give it complete. The following account however must suffice :

* The new Yæger-corps, the new court-stables.

† The imperial baths in those gardens, superior to any thing of the kind in Europe ; the hanging gardens, the chinese town, and many others.

Musical instruments of all kinds are made here in the greatest perfection. The most famous artists in this way are Kirschnek, Gabram, Vachter, for violins; Jackson, &c. — Mathematical and physical instruments are, indeed, imported from England; but likewise Kessaref a Russian, Morgan an Englishman, make them in great numbers. — Koschenkof, a Russian, makes excellent surgical instruments. — As a mechanic we shall only notice Kulibin, the Russian, the greatest genius in this particular that the nation has ever produced: a boor by birth, and by profession a meal-chandler; without direction, without scientific attainments, he unfolded his talents of himself, and the first performance by which he endeavoured to attract notice was a curious piece of clock-work. Catharine the Second rescued him from his miserable condition, placed him in the state for which he was so conspicuously intended by nature, and honoured him with a golden medal which he wears suspended to a blue ribbon about his neck. He is at present mechanician to the academy of sciences. In this situation he formed the bold design of constructing a bridge of timber across the Neva; and to this end prepared a model, in length the fifteenth part of the breadth of the river: it consists of horizontal balks, of which the upper one always projects somewhat beyond that beneath, till they meet together at the middle of the bridge, and thus form only one
great

great arch : the model, indeed, in point of strength remained firm under every kind of trial ; but in the execution the bridge would have the height of a tower, and the reparation of it would be attended with great difficulties.

As a PRINTER, Schnoor, among many others, is a very remarkable person. By talents and industry, this artist, through numberless difficulties, has made such progress in his profession, that his russian types are used in many other printing-houses, and imitated by other founders. He was appointed by the empress to establish a tartarian press, and succeeded so well in his commission, that the learned of that nation give the preference to his letters beyond all the specimens that have been produced in England, Holland, Venice, Rome, and Vienna, as most resembling the common written character. Schnoor procured them to be drawn by a mullah, or tartar priest, and two expert punch-cutters were employed about the punches till they were pronounced by the mullah to be properly finished. In this manner were formed the punches for three sorts of characters, the krim-tartar, the kasan-tartar, and the arabic. In the year 1785, this printing-office consisted of four presses, and the first produce of them were the translation of the ordinances for the administration of the government, and a Koran.

To conclude, whatever the leading faults or vices of the times might be, it was a delightful spectacle

spectacle to the friends of humanity to see that it was their great and peculiar characteristic, and it may be hoped will become their future glory, that a strong spirit of civil liberty, and of inquiry into the functions, obligations, and duties of government, were breaking forth even in Russia, as well as in various other places, where they were before supposed scarcely to hold even the seeds of existence. Another, no less laudable characteristic, was, that spirit of reform and improvement, under the several heads of legislation, of the administration of justice, the mitigation of penal laws, the affording some greater attention to the ease and security of the lower orders of the people, with the cultivation of those arts most generally useful to mankind, and particularly the public encouragement given to agriculture as an art, which was becoming prevalent in every part of Europe.

This important revolution in the dispositions of so great a part of mankind, might, in a great measure, be attributed to the peculiar kind of philosophy cultivated in the present age, by men, without doubt, considerable, and who have given the taste, and, as we may say, directed the fashion in literature; though their views have certainly not been favourable to the highest and most permanent interests of our nature. As the principles they had adopted, or the path they chose to fame and eminence, made it necessary for them to attack what have been generally considered as

the great sanctions of morality and duty, they were obliged to counteract the imputation to which their tenets might be liable, by not only professing, but inculcating, the most general and enlarged philanthropy, and by letting loose all the powers of satire and invective upon all infringements of natural rights; but more particularly upon those which seemed, or were supposed to derive their origin from religious establishments. Thus wit has been often enlisted on the side of justice, and led to a more minute and accurate investigation into the principles and boundaries of authority.

If in many respects the force of received opinions has in the present times been too much impaired, and perhaps too wide and indiscriminate a scope given to speculation on the domains of antiquity and practice; it is, however, a just cause of triumph, that prejudice and bigotry were the earliest victims*. Happy will it be, if the blows which

* A pastoral letter, which was issued in the year 1784, by the elector and archbishop of Triers, to his clergy, will serve considerably to illustrate this observation, and is the more remarkable, as that prince (who is of the house of Saxony) was considered as being peculiarly attached to the tenets of that church of which he was so considerable a member; and that the outward marks of his zeal in that respect went much beyond any that were displayed by his brethren of Mentz and Cologne.

which were aimed at the foundation and buttresses shall only shake off the useless incumbrances of the

This curious pastoral letter will however speak for him and for itself. After stating to his clergy the objects which they should have in view, and the conduct which they should observe in the discharge of those sacred functions to which they are assigned; he dwells particularly upon the instructions which they should give to the people on religious subjects; and strictly charges the rectors to confine themselves in their sermons to morality, and to the practical duties of a virtuous life, which all may understand and profit by, instead of entering into abstruse questions and theological disquisitions, which, beyond the capacity of most of their auditors, serve only to excite troublesome or dangerous doubts, and to diffuse an idle spirit of disputation, which frequently tends to the treating of the most delicate or sacred subjects with irreverence. He then strictly prescribes that all luxury should be banished from the churches: observing (rather in the sentiments of a presbyter of a reformed church, than the language of a roman catholic prince and prelate), "that neatness and decency are all that are befitting the house of the Lord:" that, on days of ceremony, worldly magnificence should be avoided, the effect of which was to excite more of curiosity than of devotion; and forbids that the music of the theatres should ever be brought into the churches. He enjoins the pastors to use their utmost endeavours to undeceive and to wean the people from their present absurd notions and prejudices, concerning wizards, fantoms, spells, and raising the devil, all of which are the offspring of folly and the grossest ignorance; that they shall discharge to their flocks the respective functions of fathers, judges, and spiritual physicians; that they should visit them frequently; and that they should never, except in cases of absolute necessity, send substitutes to supply

the edifice. And this we are to hope will be the case. We may confidently assert, that the utmost freedom of inquiry and discussion, however subject to partial inconvenience and abuses, must in the end contribute to the benefit of society; for, whatever sinister ambition may warp the designs of those who endeavour by their writings to direct the opinion of the world, as they address mankind through the channel of their reason, and work with the powers of the understanding, they are obliged to apply themselves to the cultivation and improvement of the subject, and of the instruments of their labours. So that at last the particular views of individuals, philosophers, and sects, being various and fluctuating, will be found to be comparatively but little advanced; while sometimes one, and sometimes another of those general principles on which the happiness of mankind depends (for these are uniform and permanent) will receive strength and vigour from the alternate prevalence of disciplines and opinions.

* * * On the following page is the music of the popular air of the Russians.

supply their own place among the poor, who are those that stand most in need of consolation and assistance. He also made great reforms in his dominions, and endowed schools at his own expence.

Dance

Gottweye

Musical notation for the 'Dance' section, featuring a treble clef, a 2/4 time signature, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are also some square-shaped symbols interspersed among the notes. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

For the Voice

Musical notation for the 'For the Voice' section, featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are also some square-shaped symbols interspersed among the notes. The piece ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

APPENDIX
TO THE
THIRD VOLUME.

No. I.

*MANIFESTO published by Order of the EMPRESS of RUSSIA,
upon the Occasion of her Troops entering the Peninsula of
the KRIMEA, the KUBAN, and the Island of TAMAN;
which Countries are hereby declared to be annexed to her
Imperial Majesty's Dominions.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine the Second, empress
and sole monarch of all the Russias, &c.

Our last war against the ottoman empire having been attended with the most signal successes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Krimea, of which we were in possession: we, however, hesitated not to sacrifice that, with many other conquests, to our ardent desire of re-establishing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good understanding and friendship between our empire and the ottoman porte. This motive induced us to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cause of dissention, and even of coolness, between Russia and the ottoman porte, exposed too often to these inconveniences by the form of government which then subsisted among the Tartars.

Great as were our sacrifices and efforts for realising those hopes, they were soon, to our great regret, considerably diminished. The restlessness natural to the Tartars, fomented by insinuations, the source of which is not unknown to us, caused them easily to fall into a snare laid by foreign hands, which had sowed amongst them the seeds of disturbance and confusion to such a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happiness of that nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themselves. Hardly was their khan established according to this new form of government, before he saw himself deprived of all authority, and even obliged to desert his country, to give place to an usurper, who would again subject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had released them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had submitted to that usurper; the rest, thinking themselves too weak to resist, would infallibly have yielded to this yoke; and thus we should have lost the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the sacrifices which we willingly made at the last peace, if we had not instantly taken under our immediate protection such of the well-disposed Tartars, who, prizing the blessings of their new political existence, lamented their being forced to submit to the usurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furnished them with the power and the means of choosing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of establishing an administration analogous to this state of affairs. It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a considerable body of our troops were ordered, notwithstanding the severity of the season, to enter the Crimea, where they were subsisted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the support of the good cause, in order to recall such of the Tartars as were estranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that

that a rupture between Russia and the ottoman porte had very near ensued upon this occasion; but, thanks to the divine assistance, we disposed matters in such a manner, that the ottoman porte again acknowledged the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin-Gheray, their lawful sovereign. Notwithstanding all the inconveniences above-mentioned, as long as we were sustained and animated by the hope of re-establishing the repose necessary to the advantage and preservation of good neighbourhood with the ottoman empire, we regarded the Krimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourselves solely to appeasing the troubles which prevailed amongst them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a sufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were soon undeceived in this respect by the fresh revolt occasioned in the Krimea last year, the encouragement of which always flowed from the same source. We have been obliged in consequence to have recourse again to considerable armaments, and to cause troops to enter into the Krimea and the Kuban, whose presence is become indispensable for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The sad experience of every day demonstrates more clearly, that if the sovereignty of the ottoman porte in the Krimea was a perpetual source of discord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars exposes us to subjects of contention no less numerous and important, since the long servitude to which that people have been accustomed has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new situation procured for them by that independence of which we sought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the necessity of being always armed, occasions not only great expences, but also exposes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguish the flame of discord, in succouring the well-intentioned of that nation, exposed them to the violences of the seditious and ill-intentioned whom we

were willing to leave unpunished, in order to avoid even the shadow of an act of sovereignty, so long as we could cherish the least hope of at length restoring good order, and preventing by this means the essential interests of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all these measures, dictated solely by our love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us losses and damages, which we have the more sensibly at heart, as they affected our subjects. The loss in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to estimate it; that in money, according to the most moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of rubles. To these particulars is to be added another of the utmost importance, both in its object and with regard to its consequences: we have just been informed, that the porte has begun to lay claim to the exercise of sovereignty in the tartar dominions, by sending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the island of Taman, who has even proceeded to cause the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was sent to him by the klian Schaghin-Gheray, with a commission only to inquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that island; and what evidently proves the nature of the mission of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as subjects of the porte. This decisive, though unexpected step, convincing us of the inutility of the sacrifices we had made upon the last peace, annuls in consequence the engagements we had contracted, with the sole intention of firmly establishing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and sufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of those rights which we had lawfully acquired by conquest; the more so, as it is the only means remaining for us to secure hereafter a solid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a sincere desire of confirming and maintaining the last peace concluded with the porte, by preventing the continual disputes which the affairs of the Krimæa produced, our duty to
ourselves,

ourselves, and the preservation of the security of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm resolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Crimea; and for this purpose we re-unite to our empire the peninsula of Crimea, the island of Taman, and all the Kuban, as a just indemnification for the losses sustained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of these territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of those countries by the present manifesto, that such is our imperial pleasure, we promise them, for us and our successors in the imperial throne of Russia, that they shall be treated upon an equality with our antient subjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend against all people their persons, their estates, their temples, and the religion they profess; that they shall enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, without the least restriction, in the public exercise of their worship and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but also each individual in particular, shall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our antient subjects. But we also expect from the gratitude of our new subjects, that, touched with these favours, they will be sensible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulsed state of disturbances and dissensions to one of entire security and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, striving to imitate the submission, zeal, and fidelity of those who have long had the happiness of living under our government, they will render themselves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence, and protection. Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed with her imperial majesty's own hand)

CATHARINE. (L. S.)

No. II.

LETTER from the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS to his

PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

MY advantageous sentiments respecting the house of Prussia, sentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the same on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavoured by all sorts of intrigues to secure the accession. Your wisdom acknowledges that the pretensions of the emperor are equally just and moderate. Nature herself hath granted to the austrian Low Counties the use and advantage of the river in dispute; Austria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an exclusive right to the use of the river in question, So that the equity and disinterestedness of Joseph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging exclusively to his states. The sentiments of Austria merit esteem and attention; but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themselves to assume on account of the treaty of Munster over the house of Austria, are notorious and blameable in every respect.

Nothing can be alledged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore she merits not the assistance of any foreign power. The consequences which these republicans are drawing upon themselves by their obstinacy, must be submitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly resolved to assist his pretensions with all my land and sea-forces with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my own empire was in agitation.

ation. I hope that this declaration of my sentiments will meet with the success which our reciprocal friendship deserves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHARINE.

No. III.

MANIFESTO of the SUBLIME PORTE against RUSSIA, dated the 11th of ZILADE, the Year 1201 (the 24th of August 1787.)

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Russia in 1187 (1774) was chiefly made for the repose and tranquillity of their respective subjects; yet the court of Russia has not ceased to raise and maintain pretensions capable of disturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure: it has even proceeded so far as to seize on the Crimea, a proceeding directly opposite to the conditions agreed on to serve as the foundation of the treaty of Kainardgi. It was stipulated in the instrument then given on both sides, that there should be no farther discussion between the two empires, and that they should enjoy a perfect peace. It was specified in the capitulations that they should avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots secret or public; yet the court of Russia has raised up prince Heraclius, who was furnished with a diploma of investiture as vassal of the sublime porte. Russian troops have been placed in Tifflis; they have declared themselves supreme over the said prince, and from that moment the disorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alledged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary. It was expressly agreed on, that the Otchá-

kovians should have the free and unlimited extraction of the salt-works, which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every sort of ill-treatment from the Russians; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Russia has constantly refused it. The consul of that court has seduced the voyvode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince; he favoured his flight, and when the sublime porte reclaimed him, the russian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up; a refusal directly opposite to the treaties. The russian court has shewn as bad designs by giving what turn it pleased to many similar things. It has corrupted the subjects of the sublime porte, by establishing consuls in Valakhia, Moldavia, in isles and places where the presence of those officers was useless, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its estates the subjects of the sublime porte, and employed them in its marine and other services. It has especially entered into the interior disposition of our administration, by soliciting either the recall or punishment of governors, judges, vassals, and of all the officers not in their interest, and even of the pasha of Georgia and the princess of Valakhia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generously the porte behaved to the russian merchants: — they carried on their trade in the ottoman states with safety and liberty, and might go wherever they pleased; for which reason we expected the same indulgences for the subjects of the sublime porte. Such were our conventions when the russian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the subjects of the sublime porte than from other powers. When the subjects of the sublime porte wanted to recover their debts in the russian states, they met a thousand obstacles; not being able to go where they required, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have disappeared without our knowing what became of them. When the merchant vessels of the sublime porte requested, either through stress of weather or want of water, or
any

any other urgent necessity, to go on board a russian ship, the Russians kept them off with their guns. They have likewise sometimes fired on our vessels from Soghudgiak. The court of Russia desired to understand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongst other articles of a great deal less importance, and gave notice in a ministerial manner, by its envoy to the sublime porte, to furnish a common instrument for all these objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with sixty or seventy thousand men to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empress was to come thither herself. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of so many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Russia, with regard to the usurpation of the Krimea. If the Russians remain masters of it, the porte cannot hope to continue in security for the future, and they will always have some bad designs to fear. These considerations engaged the porte to shew to the russian envoy the desire they had for the Krimea to be established on its ancient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendship between the two empires. The envoy answered, he could not make these propositions to his court, and that if he were to do it, he foresaw no good could result from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally answered, that his court would not renounce the Krimea. That for all these reasons, and others, either secret or public, which it is impossible to enumerate, the sublime porte is obliged to declare war, in consequence of which she has published this manifesto to the respectable court of France, to inform it of the resolution she has taken to go to war with Russia. The sublime porte submits the motives herein contained to the equity of her friends,

**MANIFESTO of the COURT of RUSSIA against the SUBLIME
PORTE, dated PETERSBURG, Sept. 13th, 1787.**

THE court having received the news of the imprisonment of M. Bulgakof, minister of Constantinople, and the declaration of war made by the porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in consequence has published a manifesto, the tenor of which is as follows :

The troubles which have incessantly agitated the public repose and tranquillity established between the russian empire and the porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to say, that since the conclusion of that peace, unto the present moment, the porte has shewn, in all her conduct, the most manifest want of faith, and a disposition to render the essential stipulations they made illusive.

Though the court of Russia is furnished with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which she reserves for a more particular detail to be published hereafter, she will at present cite the facts, the most recent, which have brought on the unexpected developement so contrary to the pacific system which she followed most willingly on all occasions. She flattered herself to have fixed an immoveable basis for peace by the declaratory convention of Analj Cavack, concluded in 1779, by the commerce, and in particular by the transaction respecting the peninsula of the Krimea, the end of which was, as then demonstrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the disorders and depredations continually made by the people of the peninsula, by subjecting them to a police which would make them respect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both states. Such were the sincere intention and views of the court of Russia, which she was at great pains and trouble to accomplish.

After

After having reconciled differences of so delicate and important a nature, every thing seemed to promise a durable peace; but affairs were hardly thus happily compromised and adjusted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the most solemn and sacred, when the next turkish ministry, which succeeded to that under which all these negotiations had passed, shewed dispositions diametrically contrary to their spirit and tenor. Ill-founded pretensions soon arose respecting the exportation of salt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Otchakof. Russian consuls were denied entrance into some places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not suffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was publicly permitted to the invasions of the Lesghis and Tartars of Kuban; the former of which hostilely attacked the states of czar Heraclius, the acknowledged vassal of the empress; and the latter penetrated into the frontiers of Russia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops stationed in those parts.

The empress, constant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace had made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herself with calling upon the turkish ministry to respect the treaties, and demanding in consequence satisfaction for such breaches of faith and peace: but all her remonstrances were fruitless, and answered with arrogance and disrespect. In the mean time, her principles remain unaltered. Being mistress of her choice of means, she still preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the state of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herself and the porte; she made her pretensions known to them both, and these monarchs declared the justice and equity of them. In short, to neglect nothing that might preserve so valuable a blessing as the peace of her people, she took occasion, when in the neighbourhood of the turkish states, during the memorable journey which she had but lately finished, to call

call her minister at the porte, and examine him touching the differences which had arisen, and the means most efficacious for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the respect which the Turks would shew on their part for mutual and solemn engagements then subsisting, she sent back her minister to Constantinople. Upon his return he was immediately summoned to a conference, at which, instead of the points being resumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquiescing in the demands of Russia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretensions started; the first of which was contrary to stipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dignity of the empress, or rather hurtful to the interests of the empire.

After the turkish ministry had thus broken through the limits expressly stipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the mask, and have discovered the design which, in all probability, was long harboured, since they declared to the russian minister, that the porte considered itself bound only by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaisance, she did not think herself obliged to adhere to them longer than suited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical answer from the russian minister to the demands and pretensions communicated to him. The minister protested against the injustice, the indecency, and impossibility, in so short a time, of complying with such a requisition; he was not heard, not even on the subject of the complaints stated before this time, and for which he had demanded satisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promise of another conference, which also took place, but at which the same demands and pretensions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promise of the satisfaction he had demanded.

When the news of these two conferences came to the empress, she did not abandon herself to the discontent and resentment which are justifiable; she thought she might remain spectatress of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumspection,

cumspection, sufficiently common on the part of the turkish ministry, had made them hazard; meanwhile the sequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In these sentiments her imperial majesty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and distance in thought from the consequences which such a critical situation of affairs presaged, by some condescendence on her part to certain of the pretensions of the porte, and for this purpose orders were dispatched to prince Potemkin, when suddenly she learned that the porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herself, had summoned M. de Bulgakof to a conference on the 6th (16th), and after proposing to him to sign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the transaction concerning the peninsula of the Krimea were to be annulled, upon his refusal peace was declared to be broken, and himself sent to the castle of Seven Towers, where, in contempt of the rights of nations, he remains a prisoner at this moment.

Such a proceeding presents every reflection that can arise on the subject. The porte has thought fit to unite perfidy with the most insulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifest the strong desire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner the most generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct so offensive, the empress sees herself obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which she has acquired with so much loss of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war now ready to be kindled, she has a right to depend upon divine protection and the succours of her friends, as also upon the devout prayers of all christians, for her triumph in a cause of justice and self-defence.

No. IV.

NOTE delivered the 18th of June, by the RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR at STOCKHOLM, to the SWEDISH MINISTRY.

IN consequence of the various objects on which the under-written envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the imperial court of Russia has lately conferred with his excellency count Oxenstiern, he has now the honour to present to him a succinct recapitulation of the same in the present note.

Whatever may have been the surprise of the empress my sovereign, when she was informed of the armaments carried on in Sweden, her imperial majesty, not seeing any just motives which could occasion them, resolved to be silent as long as those motions should be confined to the interior parts of the kingdom. But being apprised of the motives alledged by the senator count Oxenstiern to the minister of Denmark, and which he, in consequence of the intimacy subsisting between the two courts, communicated to the under-written, her imperial majesty has resolved to break silence, and given orders to the under-written to enter into the following explanations with his Swedish majesty's ministers.

During the twenty-six years of her reign, the empress has never ceased to give constant testimonies to the king, and to the whole Swedish nation, of her wish to cultivate the most perfect harmony and good neighbourhood, such as at the last peace was established between the two states; if, therefore, in the midst of the repose which her empire enjoyed from its other neighbours, her imperial majesty has never conceived the least idea of disturbing or altering, in any shape, the order of things, it would be arguing against every degree of probability to attribute it to her now, when she finds herself engaged

gaged in a war which has been unjustly excited against her by a powerful enemy, and to which she cannot give too much attention. Provoked in this manner to display all the means which she holds from Providence, to repel the attack of her enemy, she has not failed to make an amicable communication of it to all the christian powers, and particularly observing this conduct when she resolved to arm a fleet to send into the Archipelago; which intention she under-written did, by her orders, communicate to the Swedish ministers. All these dispositions and preparations being therefore visibly and singly directed to the circumstance in which Russia found herself, were in no wise of a nature to alarm any neighbour that did not nourish some secret intention to multiply her embarrassments, and take advantage of them. But admitting for a moment that the court of Russia had intimated such designs, that of Sweden, however contrary they are to the faith of treaties which bind them, sound reasoning, as well as the interest of the former, would have confined all her measures to prevent their effects, and not to provoke them; and, in fact, such as prudence dictated, and were adopted, after the rumours which were spread on all sides of the armaments carrying on in Sweden, are reduced to a trifling reinforcement of the russian troops in Finland, and the destination of the usual squadron that annually cruises in the Baltic to exercise the seamen; a custom to which Sweden has never given any attention, or occasioned any umbrage. — Nevertheless, her armaments were daily advancing and increasing, without the court of Stockholm thinking proper to give any formal notice of it to the court of Petersburg; and then at last they were prepared. The senator, count von Oxenstiern, in the name of the king, did not fail to declare to the minister of a court closely allied to Vienna, and consequently, it may be presumed, not bound to conceal it from us, that those preparations were directed against Russia, on a supposition that Sweden was threatened to be attacked by her.

In this situation, the empress, on her side, has as readily ordered the under-written to declare to his Swedish majesty's ministry, and to all those who have any share in the administration, that her imperial majesty could not give them a more solid proof of her pacific dispositions towards them, and of the interest she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity, than by assuring them, on her imperial word, that all the opposite intentions which some might impute to her, are void of all foundation; but if assurances so formal and so positive, joined to arguments so plain and convincing, are not sufficient to restore calmness and tranquillity, her imperial majesty is resolved to await the event with that confidence and security which the purity and innocency of her intention afford her, as well as the powerful means which the Almighty has put into her hands, and which she has never employed but for the glory of her empire and the happiness of her subjects.

Stockholm, June 18, 1788.

(Signed) COUNT ANDRE RAZUMOFSKY.

*ANSWER of the COURT of STOCKHOLM to the foregoing
RESCRIPT.*

HIS majesty could not avoid being surprised when he saw, in the note delivered on the 18th of June, by M. le comte de Razumofsky, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia, the manner in which it was attempted to distinguish between the king and the nation; and the assurances given by the empress of her disposition in their favour, and of the interest which she takes in the preservation of their tranquillity.

Although in this language the king recognizes principles often divulged by the court of Russia in other countries, his majesty cannot reconcile such friendly sentiments on the part of the empress with an insinuation that tends directly to draw a distinction between him and his people; and,
firmly

firmly resolved never to admit such a principle, he cannot believe that a declaration of that nature was ordered to be made to him by the court of Russia. The king is rather willing to impute it to their minister only, residing at his court; but, surpris'd as well as hurt at the language it contains, which is at once irregular and hostile to the tranquillity of his kingdom, he cannot after this moment acknowledge the comte de Razumofsky as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at his court, reserving himself, until his arrival in Finland, to answer the empress of Russia on the other articles of the declaration, by his minister at Petersburg. Meanwhile his majesty finds himself obliged to require the departure of the comte de Razumofsky, by announcing to that minister that he can no longer treat with him, as having in his written memorial offended both the principles of the Swedish government, and failed in the respect that is due to the person of the king.

The attention wherewith the king has honoured this minister ever since he knew him, strongly marks the regret felt by his majesty in commanding his departure; and nothing less than the powerful reasons, of his dignity being personally offended, and the peace of his dominions rendered liable to be disturbed by those principles it has not scrupled to avow, could have influenced his majesty to desire the removal of a person who has such claims upon his regard, that, in signifying his intentions to the comte de Razumofsky, (whom he no longer acknowledges a public minister), his majesty allows him a week to make the necessary preparations. The king has also given orders for ships, and every other accommodation that can render his passage to St. Petersburg convenient, that being the only mark of attention which the present circumstances leave it in his power to shew to the comte de Razumofsky.

COPY of a CIRCULAR NOTE delivered by the COURT of SWEDEN to all the foreign MINISTERS, dated STOCKHOLM, June 23, 1788.

WHILE the king, anxious to preserve a good understanding with all his neighbours, neglected nothing in the cultivation of the same with the court of Russia; he has been astonished to observe the little effect which his sentiments have produced on the minister of that power; whose language, for some months past, in his public conduct, still appears to bear the marks of that system of dissension which his predecessors transmitted to him, and which they have perpetually laboured to extend. The king was always willing to deceive himself on this point, and wished he could doubt the existence of the efforts made by the russian envoy, to induce the swedish nation to return to those errors which led it astray during the time of anarchy, and to disseminate anew, in the heart of the state, that antient spirit of discord, which heaven and his majesty's paternal care have happily extinguished; till at length count Razumofsky, by his note of the 18th of June, has extinguished all those doubts the king was still desirous of preserving on this subject. Amidst the declarations of the empress's friendship for the king, with which the note is filled, this minister has not hesitated to appeal to others besides the king. He addressed himself to all the members of administration, as well as to the nation itself, to assure them of the sentiments of his sovereign, and how much she has their tranquillity at heart. This Sweden, however, derives solely from its proper union; and the king could not but see, with the greatest surprise, a declaration expressed in such terms, discerning therein but too much of the policy and language used by that minister's predecessors; who, not content with sowing divisions among his majesty's subjects, wanted to set up other authorities in opposition to the legitimate power,

power, and to undermine the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by calling in aid of their assertions witnesses which the form of government cannot recognize. It was in vain that his majesty sought to reconcile the assurances of the friendship of the empress of Russia on one side, with the appeal to the subjects of Sweden on the other. Every minister being charged to declare the sentiments of his master, ought not, nor can announce to them any other than the sovereign by whom his credentials have been accepted. All other authority is unknown to him, and every other witness superfluous. Such is the law, such is the constant practice in all the courts of Europe, and this rule has never ceased to be observed, unless when by captious insinuations the only aim has been (as heretofore in Sweden) to embroil matters, to confound every thing, and again to set up those barriers which form the distinction between the nation and their sovereign. Thus hurt, in a way most nearly affecting his dignity, and no longer hearing from count Razumofsky the language of a minister, hitherto charged to convey the friendly sentiments of the empress; but, at the same time, unable to conceive, that expressions so contrary to the fundamental laws of Sweden, and which, by dividing the king and the state, would render every subject culpable, were prescribed to him, the king chooses rather to attribute them to the private sentiments of the russian minister, of which he has given sufficient indication, than to the orders of his court. In the mean time, after what has passed, after declarations as contrary to the happiness of the kingdom as to the laws and respect due to the king, his majesty can no longer consider count Razumofsky in the quality of a minister, and finds himself obliged to require his departure from Sweden, confiding to his ambassador at the court of Russia the answer to the other points which have been just communicated.

Nothing less than so direct an attack on the dignity of the king, on the part of count Razumofsky, could induce his majesty to insist on the departure of one, whom he has

honoured with particular regard. But seeing himself reduced to such necessity with regret, his majesty in consequence of his former good-will has endeavoured to soften the disagreeable nature of this event, by the care he takes in regard to count Razumofsky's departure, and by the attention that will be paid to the time, and to his accommodation in his voyage to St. Petersburg.

His majesty, wishing that the diplomatic body should be acquainted with the foregoing occurrences, the senator count Oxenstiern has the honour of communicating the same.

(Signed) OXENSTIERN.

*DECLARATION of the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS, against
the KING of SWEDEN, June 30, 1788.*

IT was towards the end of the last winter that the armaments by sea and land began to shew themselves in Sweden.—Whispers were purposely circulated in the kingdom, as if Russia meditated an attack. In proportion as these preparations advanced, and as it was believed they had made an impression on some national spirits, the cabinet of Stockholm began to extend rumours of the same kind, even to foreign courts. The empress has the satisfaction to learn that these insinuations have every where failed of their aim. In truth, the courts of Europe are too enlightened to believe that Russia, after having for so long a time maintained a pacific system in regard to Sweden, had chosen to depart from it in the moment when she was engaged in a war so serious as that in which the ottoman porte had involved her.

In the mean time, the empress, attentive to every thing which passed in a place so adjacent to her territories, judged it necessary, on the information and advice which she received, not to neglect to take measures of precaution. But, anxious to avoid every thing which might give umbrage or excite alarm, she contented herself with ordering to Finland a slight reinforcement of troops, and with establishing in
this

this province magazines proportioned to their number, and indispensably necessary to their subsistence. In fine, reposing on the innocence and rectitude of her intentions, on the religious observance of the perpetual treaty subsisting between the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Sweden; and above all, not knowing of any one subject of discussion, open or concealed, between the two courts — the amicable correspondence, on the contrary, continuing as usual between them — she had undoubtedly every right to think, that, great as might be the ambition, the uneasiness, and the envy of the imperial powers, the true motives that could impel the swedish monarch to make war on her must be repressed by the respect of good faith, which ought to actuate the hearts of sovereigns even more than of other men; by the impossibility of giving any colour of equity to the scope which he wished to give to his passions; and, in fine, by the obstacle, equally strong, that of the solemn compact he had made with his people, not to undertake any war without assembling, consulting, and obtaining the consent of his subjects.

Nothing could prove more effectually the satisfaction which should have been placed in her imperial majesty's various assurances, than the resolution which she took of detaching from the fleet destined for the Archipelago a squadron of only three ships, which she sent to sea in the beginning of this month, notwithstanding the positive advices she had of all the swedish fleet being cruising in the Baltic. These ships, three days after their departure from the port of Cronstadt, fell in, off the isle of Dago, with the swedish fleet, which detached a frigate, the captain of which came aboard of the ship of the vice-admiral Vanderseer, who commanded this little squadron. The captain of the frigate announced to the vice-admiral the presence of the duke of Sudermánia, the king's brother, the commander of the swedish fleet, and required the salute. The vice-admiral replied, that by the 17th article of the treaty of Abo, no salute could take place between the russian and swedish fleets; but that respecting, in the

person of the duke of Sudermania, the cousin-german of the empress and the brother of the king of Sweden, he had no difficulty in rendering to these distinctions all the honours that were due. He then ordered a salute with thirteen guns, and sent an officer on board the duke's ship to pay his compliments, and to announce to him at the same time, that it was to his person only that the honours were addressed. The answer of the duke of Sudermania was, that although he was not ignorant of the tenor of the convention made between the courts of Sweden and Russia, in regard to the salute, he would not accept of that which was to be rendered, unless it was given to the swedish flag, as he had received the most precise orders from the king his brother to make that flag respected in every place, and on every occasion.

The empress had hardly time to make her complaints on the injustice and irregularity of this proceeding to the court of Stockholm, when she was informed of that other, still less expected, of the dismissal of her minister from the swedish court and territories. The pretended reasons of this measure are exposed in the declaration of the king made to the ministers of foreign courts. These reasons are not calculated to impose on the most unenlightened, and they therefore require no answer; one observation, however, cannot be avoided, that it is the first example of the kind by which a sovereign assured his subjects of the pacific and benevolent sentiments he entertained towards them.

In the mean time the empress, resolved to continue to the last in the principle of moderation she had professed, confined her resentment of this proceeding to the retaliation which she was naturally authorised to use in regard to the minister of the king of Sweden. She signified to him to quit her court in the same space of time which had been fixed for her minister at Stockholm. The only difference in the proceeding was, that all false and insidious imputation was carefully avoided. — This difference has been established and demonstrated indeed by the good faith which has

accomplished

accompanied the cause of the empress, and the breach of faith which has marked the whole conduct of the king of Sweden.

Notwithstanding these scenes which threatened an almost inevitable war, the empress was pleased to cherish hopes that the amicable explanations which the Swedish monarch had himself promised the foreign powers, might yet tend to preserve the good harmony and neighbourhood, which no one reason of state on either side had a tendency to interrupt. But this hope is totally vanished. She learns that on the 21st or 22d of this month the troops of the king of Sweden, having fallen hastily on the frontiers of Russia, have carried off the money deposited in several custom-houses, have penetrated to the environs of Nieslat, and have even opened the siege of its castle.

It is by a series of violent proceedings (of which every one infringes on the rights the most generally received among civilized nations) that the king of Sweden, without having complained of one grievance against Russia, has at length pushed to the uttermost the moderation of the empress, and has obliged her to have recourse to the only remedy which is left her, of repelling force by force. It is with regret that she issues her orders to the commanders of her forces by land and sea. In making known this resolution, as well as the motives that have provoked her to it, to the friendly powers, she protests to them; that the king of Sweden is alone responsible to God, to the world, and to his own people, for all the calamities to which his ambition and injustice may give rise.

EXHORTATION of the KING of SWEDEN to his SUBJECTS.

We Gustavus, by the grace of God king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, to all our faithful subjects health! commending them to the care of the Almighty, with our favour and particular good-will.

Seeing ourselves again attacked by enemies on another side of our kingdom, and obliged to arm, in order to defend our states and the independence of our dear country, no less than your lives, your property, your liberties, and your welfare, we doubt not that our dear subjects will with the arms assume the courage of their ancestors, with firmness and unanimity to repulse the enterprises of our enemies — more especially as ourself shall set them the example, like our illustrious predecessors, to defend, to the very last man, the independence of a kingdom, that boasts so remote an antiquity. Nevertheless, we must not conceal from you, my subjects, all the means which the enemy wishes to employ, in order to subjugate a people, whose valour they have often experienced to their detriment.

As they cannot hope to effect our common ruin solely by open force, they are striving to excite discord, as well among yourselves, as between you and us, fomenting jealousies by secret intrigues, and provoking quarrels, in the full persuasion that a swedish king, united with the swedish nation, could not easily be brought under their yoke. We exhort you, then, in the name of the Almighty God, as the true and only defender of kings and states, that you will not listen to treacherous insinuations, but that you will constantly persevere in the fidelity which we have a right to expect from you, and which, during sixteen years of our reign, we have no less experienced than deserved. We have also to give you the happy information, that the principal powers in Europe now in alliance with each other, which interest themselves in the independence of the swedish nation, are at this present moment endeavouring to accomplish our wishes in the restoration of peace; which we hope, with the help of the Almighty, will, by our joint efforts, soon be established. We trust, that so soon as that salutary end shall be attained, we shall have the satisfaction to meet our subjects, united in the strictest bonds of concord, in a general diet of the states, where we may offer up our thanksgivings to the Supreme Being, for his protection

tection vouchsafed to us, and to our kingdom. In the meanwhile, we recommend you to his all-powerful hand : and we remain in the utmost affection towards you all, of whatsoever rank, with all our royal favour and good-will.

(Signed)

GUSTAVUS.

Done at Carlstadt, Sept. 26, 1788.

(and lower)

HERM. VON LAASTBONE.

*DECLARATION, and COUNTER-DECLARATION, between
DENMARK and SWEDEN.*

DECLARATION.

HIS danish majesty has ordered the under-signed to declare, that although he complies with the treaty between the courts of Peterburg and Copenhagen, in furnishing the former with the number of ships and troops stipulated by several treaties, and particularly that of 1781 ; he yet considers himself in perfect amity and peace with his swedish majesty : which friendship shall not be interrupted, although the swedish arms should prove victorious, either in repulsing, defeating, or taking prisoners the danish troops now in the swedish territories, acting as russian auxiliaries under russian flags. Nor does he conceive that his swedish majesty has the least ground to complain, so long as the danish ships and troops now acting against Sweden do not exceed the number stipulated by treaty ; and it is his earnest desire, that all friendly and commercial intercourse between the two nations, and the good understanding between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, remain inviolably as heretofore.

(Signed)

COUNT DE BERNSTORF.

Delivered to the baron de Sprengporten, his swedish majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Copenhagen, Sept. 23, 1788.

COUNTER-

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

THE declaratory note delivered by the count Bernstorff to the under-signed, in which his danish majesty conceives that his swedish majesty cannot have any ground of complaint, as long as the danish ships and troops merely act as auxiliaries to Russia, is a doctrine which his swedish majesty cannot altogether reconcile with the law of nations and rights of sovereigns, and against which his majesty has ordered the under-signed to protest.

Nevertheless, to prevent an effusion of blood between the subjects of the two kingdoms, and particularly at the moment when a negotiation has begun to restore perfect peace and tranquillity in the north of Europe, which affords a pleasing prospect of a general pacification; his swedish majesty, from motives of a love of peace, waves entering into a speculative discussion, whether or not there be a cause or ground of complaint, on his side, and rests perfectly satisfied with the assurances contained in his danish majesty's declaration, that his danish majesty has no hostile views against Sweden, and that the friendly and commercial intercourse between the subjects of both kingdoms, and the good understanding between the two courts, shall remain uninterrupted.

His swedish majesty puts the strongest faith and utmost confidence in what Mr. Elliot, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his britannic majesty, has represented to him on this important occasion.

His majesty, therefore, to prevent the horror of war, and the calamities impending over the two nations; anxious to behold peace and union restored between them; embraces with satisfaction his danish majesty's declaration, and particularly as it will facilitate the negotiation for a general peace which is happily begun through the mediation of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Prussia, and the good success of which is the greatest object of his majesty's ambition, and which his majesty has fully declared to the aforesaid Mr. Elliot, provided the defeating of the russian auxiliaries be not considered

as hostilities against his danish majesty, agreeably to the declaration delivered by count Bernstorff.

(Signed) BARON DE SPRENGPORTEN.

Dated Stockholm, October 6, 1788, and delivered to the Count Bernstorff at Copenhagen.

COPY of a DECLARATION delivered to the Confederate STATES of POLAND by the Prussian Minister at WARSAW, dated October 12, 1788, on the Subject of an intended Alliance between RUSSIA and POLAND.

IF the projected alliance between Russia and Poland has for its first object the conservation of the states of Poland, the king does not see the necessity or utility of it, because the safety of Poland is sufficiently guaranteed by the last treaties. It cannot be supposed that her majesty the empress of Russia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It must then be supposed the king has such a design; and, in consequence, this alliance is directed against him.

Thus the king cannot but object and protest solemnly against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

If, in the second place, this alliance be directed against the common enemy, and if under this qualification be included the ottoman porte; the king, out of friendship for the republic of Poland, cannot but represent, that the porte having always religiously observed the peace of Carlowitz; and that during the whole course of the present war they have carefully avoided the states of the republic, there will infallibly result the most dangerous consequences, as well for the states of the republic, as for those of his prussian majesty which are next adjoining, if Poland contract alliances which authorize the porte to regard Poland as an enemy. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will see at once how difficult and impossible

impossible it will be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so restless.

The king cannot then be indifferent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greatest danger towards the republic, but to his own states, and which will infallibly extend farther the flames of war, already too general.

The king finds nothing to object against the republic of Poland's augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a respectable state. But he leaves to the consideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is absolutely foreign to it, and consequently leading to grievous consequences. The king is flattered, that his majesty the king of Poland, and the states of the serene republic assembled in the present diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majesty now represents, in the way and through motives of the most sincere friendship, and for the true welfare and common interest of the two states, so closely united by the indissoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

His majesty also hopes, that her majesty the empress of Russia will not refuse her approbation to motives so just, and so conformable to the welfare of the polish nation; and he expects also with confidence, from one part and the other, that they desist from the project of an alliance so little necessary, but always so dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope, that his majesty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent danger with which their country is menaced. And they may depend, that his majesty will grant them the necessary assistance, and the most powerful succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, the 12th of October 1788.

LOUIS DEBUCKHOLTZ.

ANSWER

ANSWER of the DIET at WARSAW to the KING of
PRUSSIA'S DECLARATION.

THE under-signed, by the express orders of the king and the confederate states of the diet, has the honour to transmit to M. de Buckholtz the following answer :

The reading of the said declaration of his prussian majesty, in a full council, on the 13th, has impressed the states assembled with a lively sense of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in assuring to Poland the safety of its possessions.

The project of an alliance between Russia and Poland, not having been proposed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of union, which leads the business of the diet, conformably to the general will of the nation ; and the propositions coming from the throne respecting the augmentation of imposts, and the military of the republic, are not in the system of an offensive force, but solely for defending and preserving its possessions and its free government.

If in the already determined proceeding the states assembled receive a proposition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the same nature of a diet, in so public a step will never veil its proceedings, but act conformably to the independence of its sovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of his majesty the king of Prussia.

The general will, ever right and ever public, forming the spirit of the deliberations of the present diet, the states assembled unanimously make it their wish to fix in the opinion of
his

his prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their under-standings, and their patriotifm.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEL MALACHOWSKY,

Referendary of the crown, marshal of the diet, and of the confederation of the crown.

(Signed)

CASIMIR PRINCE SAPIEHA,

General of artillery of Lithuania, marshal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania.

Warsaw, Oct. 20th, 1788.

No. V.

ARTICLES of the QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE between RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, FRANCE, and SPAIN.

I. THAT in case any of the parties are attacked, by sea or land, the other three shall defend with money, forces, or shipping.

II. The treaties of 1748, 1753, 1756, the Bourbon Family Compact in 1761, and the Convention between Austria and Russia in 1787, shall be in full force.

III. Their most christian and catholic majesties oblige themselves to observe the strictest neutrality in the present war with the Turks. But in case the emperor should be attacked by any other power, the french king is to furnish him thirty thousand men, or an equivalent in money, on demand. And in case the french king is attacked, the emperor is to furnish the like succours.

IV. The king of Spain agrees, on his part, to the aforesaid third article, as the emperor also does toward the king of Spain.

V. If the empress of Russia should be attacked in the present war with the Turks, his most christian majesty engages to

to assist her with eight ships of the line and six frigates; and his catholic majesty is to furnish the like succours; the empress of Russia binding herself to furnish either or both powers with an equal assistance, in case any attack be made on them.

VI. The treaty of commerce between France and Russia, made in 1787, shall be in full force, and a similar treaty be signed by Russia and Spain.

VII. The treaty of 1761, between France and Spain to be in full force.

VIII. Though this treaty is to be purely defensive, the parties agree, that if any of them are attacked, the other three shall not make peace, until the province which is invaded is restored back in the same state it was before attacked.

IX. Whenever any of the parties shall, by their ambassadors, demand stipulated succours, the said ambassadors shall be reciprocally admitted into the councils of war, and deliberate upon and settle whatever may be most advantageous to the four contracting parties; and the auxiliary succours are to be augmented as events may require.

X. The high contracting parties shall have liberty to invite such other powers to accede to the present treaty as they may think proper.

XI. Denmark, as an ally of Russia, shall be specially invited to accede thereto.

No. VI.

*TREATY of PEACE concluded between the KING of SWEDEN
and the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS.*

In the name of the holy and undivided trinity!

HIS majesty the king of Sweden, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, equally desirous of putting an end to the
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the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-establish the friendship, harmony, and good neighbourhood which have long subsisted between their respective states and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions; and with a view to realize them, they have appointed and authorized, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Gustavus von Armfeldt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the sieur Otho Henry von Igelftrœm, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorized, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

I. There shall be henceforward, between his majesty the king of Sweden and his estates, countries, and nations, on one part, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and her estates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by sea and land; and, consequently, the most speedy orders for the cessation of hostilities shall be given by each party. Whatever is past shall be forgotten: attention will only be paid to the re-establishment of that harmony and mutual good-will which has been interrupted by the present war.

II. The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the present war.

III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or in fourteen days after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

IV. All prisoners of war, or others who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent parties during the course of hostilities, shall be set at liberty by each party without ransom; and they shall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for

for their maintenance; but they shall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each respective state.

V. And, in order to prevent the giving the least occasion for a misunderstanding at sea between the contracting parties, it is stipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more swedish men of war, whether small or great, shall pass by the forts of her imperial majesty, they shall be obliged to give a salute in the swedish manner; which shall be immediately answered by a salute in the russian mode. The same shall be observed by russian men of war, whether one or more; they shall be obliged to salute before the forts of his swedish majesty, and they shall be answered by a swedish salute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties shall order, as speedily as possible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of saluting between swedish and russian ships shall be established, whether at sea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent mistakes in the above case, ships of war belonging to either party shall not salute each other.

VI. Her imperial majesty of all the Russias has also agreed, that his swedish majesty shall be at liberty to buy every year corn to the amount of fifty thousand rubles in the ports of the gulf of Finland and of the Baltic sea, provided it be proved that it is for the use of his swedish majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorized by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years shall not be included, nor such years in which, for some important reasons, her imperial majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

VII. As the eagerness of the high contracting parties for the speedy termination of those evils with which their respective subjects have been afflicted, in consequence of war, does not allow them time for the regulation of many points, and

objects tending to establish firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promise to pay attention to those points and objects, and to discuss and regulate them amicably by means of ambassadors or plenipotentiary ministers, whom they shall appoint immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty of peace.

VIII. The ratifications of the present treaty of peace shall be exchanged within the space of six days, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, we have signed the present treaty of peace, and sealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Verce, near the river Kymene, between the advanced posts of each camp, the 11th of August 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON VON ARMFELDT.

OTHO, BARON VON ISELSTRAEM.

No. VII.

A MEMORIAL presented by the DEPUTIES of the GREEK ISLANDS to the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, offering the Imperial Grecian Throne to her second grandson CONSTANTINE.

Τῇ ὑψηλότατῃ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ, καὶ διοσιβιστάτῃ Αὐτοκρατορίᾳ,
καὶ Βασιλίᾳ πασῶν τῶν Ῥωσιῶν, καὶ τα ἐξ. καὶ τα ἐξ. καὶ τα
ἐξ.

ΚΑΙ τότο ὡς πρὸς ἕτερον τί ἐμὴ τὸ διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου, ματίως διηθέν-
τες, τοῖς ὑπεργοῖς τῆς ὑμέτερας Αὐτοκρατορικῆς Μεγαλειότητος πρὸς
ἀπόκρισιν, ἀναφερᾶς ἂν προχρῶν αὐτοῖς προσιφέροιμι. Ἐκ ἀπεισιά-
μενοι δὲ, καὶ μάλιστα, ἐν ἰσχυρῇ ἀπελπισίᾳ φερόμενοι διανοῶντες τὰς
φρικτὰς συμφοράς, αἱς ἡ ταύτης βαδύτης προξενεῖσιν τοῖς ἡμετέροις
συμπατριόταις, οἱ γὰρ ἰλκυσθέντες παρὰ τῶν προδῶντων κλίσειν τῆς αὐτῆς

ΑΥΤ.

Αὐτ. Μιγ. ἰφίρον τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τῆ κοιᾶ ἐχθρῶ τῇ Χρηστηρίᾳ διομά-
τος, ἀπεγελάν ἐν ὧν ἡμᾶς προσφέρειν, τοῖς ποδοῖς τῇ υψηλῇ αὐτῆς θρόνῳ
ὡς σημῖον καὶ ὄψρον τῆς ἡμῶν εὐλάβειας, τὴν ζωὴν καὶ περιέσιαν αὐτῶν.

Ναὶ, Βασιλῆσσα καὶ Κυρία· τὸτο ἔτι πρὸς τί ἔτιρον ἡμῇ ἀπολολόντις
παῖσαν ἱλπίδα μιᾶς ταχίας ἀποκρίσεως, τολμῶμεν γόνυ κλίνοντις
προσφέρειν τὴν ταπινὴν ἡμῶν, ἀναφορὰν, πρὸς τὰς πόδας τῆς αὐτῆς
Αὐτ. Μιγ. ὅπως τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν αἱμάτων ρύακας ξηρήσιν, οἱ
ἤδη ἀναμφιβόλως ῥέουσιν.

Ἔτιρον ἐν ἰερόν ὠφέλημα ἡμῶν τὸ καὶ κύριον ἱδὸς τῆς ἡμῶν παραγγαι-
λίας, ὃν καὶ ἠρίθησι ἡμᾶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τολμῇ ἐπιχειρήσει, ἐν ὅπως
ἐξαπατήσομεν, τὴν αὐτῆς Αὐτ. Μιγ. ἐξ ἧν ἐτόλμισαν ἀπάτειν
(ὡς θεὸς καὶ οἱ μιγιστὰς αὐτῆς) ἔγνωμεν γὰρ, ὅτι ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς Ψάρος ἀπὸ
βδελύξεως ἐκ τῶν ἡμῶν ἰθὺς, ἔνικεν τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐξήλθεν
καὶ εἰς ἂν εὐρίσκειται. Ὁ γὰρ δὲ ἰὰν μὴ πλανῶν, ἀνιπσχίεως τὴν
ὑπεργῆς αὐτῆς πειρῶν αὐτοῖς ἰαυτὸν, ὡς ἄξιοι μεγάλων κατορθυμάτων,
ἂ ποτὲ ἔκ ἐποίησι. Ἔτος ἐν καὶ ἵτι ἱγίριται ὡς ἄρχων καὶ ὁδηγός, τῇ
ἡμῶν ἔθους, καυχόμενος ὅτι ἐμένομεν τὴν παρῆσιαν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῆς
ἡμῶν γῆς, ἵνα κυρῆζομεν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἀρχιεράτιγον. καυχῆσις ἄς
μόνον γράφει καὶ ἔκ ἐργάζεται. Διωρισίαν ἡ αὐτῆς Αὐτ. Μιγ. ἐν τῇ
ἡμῶν ἀναφορᾷ· τί ἔτος ἱποίησι ἡμῖν, ἐγνώκαμεν γὰρ ὅτι, αὐτὸς λαβὼν
ἀπείρους ποσοτήτας χρημάτων, φημὴζι ὅτι ἰδατάησε αὐτὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
δυναμίθα πληροφόρησαι τὴν αὐτῆς Αὐτ. Μιγ. ὅτι ἔδδ αὐτὸς ἔδδ τις ἄλλος
δπὲς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπτεγάθη ἐκ τῶν ὧν ὑπεργῶν δίδωκε ἡμῖν ἐν μόνον
ῥύμπλιον. ἡ μικρὰ φλοτίγλια, καὶ ἔτιρε ναῦς τῇ Λάμπρῳ, κατισκινεύθη-
σαν καὶ ὀπλίσθησαν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἡμῶν χρημάτων δαπάνης. εἰς μόνος ἐξ
ἡμῶν ἔλασας τὴν κρηνην αὐτῇ κοίτην, ἰδαπάνησε δέκα καὶ δύο χιλιάδας
χρυσὰ ἰομήσματα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῇ χρημάτων, ὀπλίσας δύο ναῦς,
ἔνικεν τότε οἱ Ὀθωμᾶίοι ἀπέκτιναν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, τῇ
ἰληλάτησαν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τῇ ἔφθισαν τῆς ἀγρῆς.

Οὐκ ἰτήσαμεν ποτὲ καὶ ἔκ ἐτῶμεν τὴν σὺς θησαυρῆς, ἔκ ἰτήσαμεν
εἰμὴ πύριον κόνιν καὶ σιδήρεως σφίρας (ἂ ἔδδ δυναμίθα ὀνήζειν) καὶ ἐν τῇ
ὀδιγίᾳ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν μάχην.

Ἐξ ἰναντίας ἀπέγελαν ἡμᾶς προσφέρειν σοὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὰ κτήματα
αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκ ἱτεῖν τὴν σὺς θησαυρῆς.

Νεύσον, ὦ κρατὶά Βασιλῆσσα, δόξα τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πίστεως,
ρεύσοι δέομιθα ἀναβιούσκων τὴν ταπινὴν ἡμῶν ἀναφορὰν. Ὁ Οὐρανός

ἐφύλαξεν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπολύτρωσιν πρὸς δόξαν τῆς σῆς Αυτ. Μιγ. ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῆς προσασίαν, προσδοκῶμεν λυτρώσai, τὴν αὐτοκρατορίαν ἡμῶν χρωμέην, τὴν πατριαρχίαν καὶ ἱερὰν θρησκείαν, καταφρονήσαν καὶ καταπατήσαν ἐκ τῶν βιβήλων, καὶ βαρβάρων Ὀθωμανῶν· προσδοκῶμεν σοι, λυτρώσai τὴς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Λακαϊδαιμονίων ἀπογόνους, τῇ τυρρανικῇ ζυγῇ, τῶν τῶν ἄγρίων, ὑφ' ἧν γινάσκει, ἐν ἔθνος, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ ἀπιστίας, καὶ ὁ ἴσως ὑπερβολὴ τῆς ἐλευθέριας, ἐκ ἰδυνήθησαν γὰρ αἱ σιδεραὶ ἀλίσαι τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποσείναι, ἔχει δὲ πρῶτῶν αὐτῶν ὁμμάτων τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν ἡρῶν πρᾶξιαν τῶν αὐτῶν προπατόρων ἕως νῦν.

Αἱ λαμπραὶ ἡμῶν ἡχοδομαὶ ἀναγινώσκου ἡμῖν τὴν παλαιὰν ἡμῶν μεγαλιότητα· οἱ ἄπιοι λίμιναι, ἡ εὐφύνη τῶν ἀγρῶν μᾶς, ὁ Οὐρανὸς ὁ αἰνῶνος γιγλὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡ ἄερα, θειμότητα τὴν ἡ φύσις ἐμπνέει καὶ μόνον τοῖς νόις ἀλλὰ, καὶ τοῖς πεθερεμένοις γηραλέοις ἡμῶν, λέγει ἡμῖν ὅτι μᾶς ἔστι πρὸς ἡμετέραν ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴς προγόνους ἡμῶν.

Νεύσων ἡ Κυρία διδόναι ἡμῖν σὸν εὐχνοα Κοσταντῖνον διὰ αἰακτα ἡμῶν, τῷτο μόνον τὸ γένος ὅλον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ θεόμενον· (γένος γὰρ τῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀποσείγει) καὶ ἴσεται ὡς τὴς προγόνους αὐτῶν.

Ἡμεῖς ἐκ ἐσμὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀπατιλῶν οἵτινες ἐτόλμησαν ἀπατίσαι τὴν μεγαλοψυχότερεν τῶν ἀνάκτων· ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν οἱ ἀπεπαλμένοι τῶν λαῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος προμηθευμένοι ἀπολύτη δυνάμει, ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτοι προσπιτόντες τοῖς πόσιν αὐτῆς ἦν μετὰ θεοῦ σωτήρα ἐπιζόμεν ὑμνῶμεν δὲ ἴσισθαι μέχρι ταλειάας ἡμῶν ἀναπνοῆς.

Οἱ τῆς ὑμετέρας Αυτοκρατορικῆς Μεγαλειότητος πιστότατοι δούλοι, καὶ τα εἶς.

Πετρουπολη,
Ἀπριλίη, 1790.

Πανὸς Κίρη,
Χρίστος Λαζοῦτς,
Νικόλαος Πάγκαλος.

*Ali pasha's letter to captain * BOGIA and captain GIAVELLA, two of the most considerable of the chiefs of the Greek inhabitants of the mountain of Sulli, praying them to meet*

* The Greeks call their chiefs captains.

him with all their soldiers or companions, to assist in his expedition. His letter was in modern Greek, of which the following is a copy, which, as a literary curiosity, is here inserted.

Φιλοίμην Καπιτάν Μπόγια καὶ Καπιτάν Τζαβέλλα ἰγὼ ὁ Ἄλδ Πασίας σὰς χαριεῖν, καὶ σὰς φιλῶ τὰ ματία, ἵπειδὴ καὶ ἰγὼ ξέρω πολλά καλὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν σὰς καὶ παλλικαρίαν σὰς. Μὲ φαίνεται νάχω μεγάλην χρεῖαν ἀπὸ λογέσας, λοιπὸν μὴ κόμιστε ἀλλίως παρακαλῶ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὅπῃ λάβετε τὴν γραφὴν μὲ, νὰ μαζοξήτε ἀγάσας τὰ παλλικάρια καὶ νὰ ἔλθετε νὰ μὲ εὕρετε διατὰ παγῶ, νὰ πολέμησω τὰς ἐχθρὰς μὲ· τῆτη ἵται ἡ ὅρα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὅπῃ ἔχω χρεῖαν ἀπὸ λογέσας, καὶ μίση νὰ εἶδῶ τὴν φιλίαν σὰς καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ὅπῃ ἔχετε διὰ λογῶ μὲ· ὁ λοῦφισας δὲίλη ἵται δυπλὸς ἀπ' ὅσον δίδω εἰς τὰς Ἀλβανίτας διὰ τὴν καὶ ἡ παλλικαρία σὰς ξέρω πῶς ἵται πολλὰ μεγαλότερη ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδικὴν τὰς. λοιπὸν ἰγὼ δὲν πάγω νὰ πολέμησω πρὶν νὰ ἔλθετε ἐσθίς, καὶ σὰς καρτερεῖν ὅλλιγορὰ νὰ ἔλθετε. Ταῦτα, καὶ σὰς χαριεῖν.

Whereof the following is a translation.

My friends, captain Bogia and captain Giavella, I, Ali pasha, salute you, and kiss your eyes, because I well know your courage and heroic minds. It appears to me that I have great need of you, therefore I entreat you immediately, when you receive my letter, to assemble all your heroes, and come to meet me, that I may go to fight my enemies. This is the hour and the time that I have need of you. I expect to see your friendship, and the love which you have for me. Your pay shall be double that which I give to the Albanians, because I know that your courage is greater than theirs; therefore I will not go to fight before you come, and I expect that you will come soon. This only, and I salute you.

No. VIII.

*MANIFESTO of the EMPRESS of all the RUSSIAS relative to
the Partition of POLAND.*

I MICHAEL KRECHETNIKOF, general in chief, senator, general-governor of Tula, Kaluga, and the countries newly annexed from the polish republic to the russian empire, commander of all the armies there, &c. hereby make known, by the supreme will and command of my most gracious sovereign her imperial majesty of all the Russias, to all the inhabitants in general of the countries now united for ever to the russian empire from the polish republic:

Her imperial majesty has hitherto taken, in the affairs of Poland, a part that has always been tending to the interest of both empires. It has not only been unsuccessful, but proved a fruitless burthen; and her endeavours to maintain peace and freedom among her neighbours have been attended with innumerable losses.

Thirty years of experience has evinced it, in the numerous internal disputes which have distracted the polish republic. Her imperial majesty has viewed their sufferings, in the countries and cities bordering on her empire, with great compassion, considering them as descending from the same race, and professing the holy christian religion.

Even at this moment, some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been ashamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to request their assistance to involve their country also in bloody civil wars.

The true christian religion, and the well-being of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned countries, would suffer from the introduction of such detestable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the bonds of society, to overthrow all safety, property, and prosperity. These enemies of peace, following the
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the detestable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmost of their power, which would destroy for ever their own and their neighbours happiness.

From these considerations, her imperial majesty, my most gracious mistress, as well to indemnify herself for her many losses, as for the future safety of her empire and the polish dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleased now to take under her sway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants: namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dvina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia: thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the voivodeship of Vilna to Stolptsa, to Nesvij, and then to Pinsk; and thence passing Kunish, between Viskero and Novegreble, near the frontier of Galicia; thence to the river Dniestr; and, lastly, running along the river, till it enters the old border of Russia and Poland at Yergetic: in such manner, that all the cities and countries within this line of demarcation, the new border of Russia and Poland, shall henceforward, for ever, come under the sceptre of the russian empire, and the inhabitants, of all ranks whatever, be subjects thereof.

I, being appointed by her imperial majesty governor-general of these countries, by her supreme order have to certify, in her sacred name, and in her own words, to all her imperial majesty's new subjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her most gracious majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and ensure to all the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the same and glory of the whole russian empire; an example of which is to be seen in her faithful subjects, the inhabitants of White Russia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wise and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every

one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects; and that from this day, every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the russian empire.

Her imperial majesty expects, from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Russians, shall in return transfer the love of their former country to the new one, and live, in future, attached to so great and generous an empress.

I therefore now inform every person, from the highest to the lowest, that, within one month, they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immovable property, regardless of their own interest, should refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immovables, and their free departure over the borders; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

The clergy, both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath; and in the daily service in their churches they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitch, and for all the imperial family, according to the form which shall be given them.

In the above-mentioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the jews living in these countries united to the russian empire, shall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property; for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness, under the protection of God; so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades like faithful subjects, law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places, with the utmost strictness and equity.

I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline. Their taking possession, therefore, of the various places, and changing the government, should not in the least alter the course of trade or living; for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majesty.

This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 27th of this present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and nailed up in proper places, for the general information; and that full credit may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers entrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed to it the seal of my arms, at the head-quarters of the army under my command at Polonna.

(Signed) M. KRECHETNIKOF.

MANIFESTO of his PRUSSIAN MAJESTY *relative to his*
Partition of POLAND, March 25.

WE Frederic William, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, &c. make known to the respective states, bishops, abbots, voivodes, castellans, statbrots, chamberlains, and country judges; the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the voivodeships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, Siradia, the city and monastery of Chentochova, the province of Vielun; the voivodeship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Doorzyn, the voivodeships of Rava and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all sorts of good, and give them the following most gracious notice:

It is universally known that the polish nation never ceased to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the prussian

fian state, frequent reasons of just discontent. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighbourhood) with injuring the prussian territory, by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill using the subjects on this side the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice and legal satisfaction; this nation have, besides, always busied themselves with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the serious consideration of the neighbouring powers is, the spirit of rebellion continually increasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into miseries, the end of which could not be foreseen.

If in every country the adoption and spreading of such destructive principles be always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland; since this nation have always distinguished themselves by disturbances and party spirit, and are powerful enough of themselves to become dangerous to their neighbours by these disturbances.

It would certainly militate against the first rules of sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our dominions, if, in such a state of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive spectators, and should wait for the period when the factions feel themselves strong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be exposed to several dangers, by the consequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have, therefore, in conjunction with her majesty the empress of Russia, and with the assent of his majesty the roman emperor, acknowledged, that the safety of our states did require to set to the republic of Poland such boundaries as are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and may facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice to her liberty, a well-ordered, solid, and active form of government; of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same; and preventing, by these means, the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the safety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preserve the republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal divisions, and to rescue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrines which they are bent to follow; there is, according to our thorough persuasion, to which also her majesty the empress of all the Russias accedes, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our states, and for this purpose immediately to take possession of the same, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might arise from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her russian majesty, to take possession of the above-mentioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, in order to incorporate them into our dominions.

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the polish nation will soon assemble in the diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time, we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we
have

have taken possession of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our commanders and troops ordered for that purpose; but rather tractably to submit to our government, and acknowledge us, from this day forward, as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

We doubt not that all whom this may concern will attend to it with obedience; but in case, and contrary to all expectation, some one or other state and inhabitants of the said districts and towns should refuse to obey the contents of this, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor submit to our government, or even attempt to oppose our commanders and troops, such person or persons have unavoidably to expect, that the punishment usual in such cases shall be inflicted upon them without any distinction.

In witness whereof we have subscribed this patent with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be set to it, to be published in due place, and to be publicly printed.

Done at Berlin the 25th of March, 1793.

FREDERIC WILLIAM. (L. S.)

DECLARATION of the KING and REPUBLIC of POLAND, assembled in Diet at GRODNO, protesting against the forcible Partition of POLAND, Sept. 24.

SURROUNDED closely by foreign troops on the 2d of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the republic by the prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the states in diet assembled were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed in pity to approve of. But with grief and surprise we find, by the sad experience of
this

this day, that the court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see fresh acts of violence forcing a new project upon us: and, in order to support it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed foreign force, with addressing to us notes full of menaces, seizes from among us, and carries off, our members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age, and under such manifold calamities, and us, the states of the republic, confined and imprisoned in the senate.

Thus situated, we do declare, in the most solemn manner that, unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effect of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier perhaps than ourselves, those means of saving our dear country, whereof we are bereft at present; and thus the project sent to us by the russian ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept, we do accept.

Done at Grodno, the 24th of September. Signed and engrossed in the public records, according to law.

No. IX.

The principal ARTICLES of the TREATY concluded at YASSY, the 9th of January, 1792, and signed by Prince REPNIN and the GRAND VIZIR.

I. THAT a sincere amity shall henceforth subsist between the two empires.

II. That the stipulations in the treaties that preceded the last rupture shall resume their entire force.

III. That

III. That the Dniestr shall henceforth serve as the boundary of the two empires; and that all the territory situate on the left bank of the river shall be restored to the porte.

IV. That the ancient rights and privileges of the principal towns of Moldavia and of Valakhia shall be confirmed; that the inhabitants of those towns shall remain, during two whole years, exempt from all tribute; and that those who would sell their property, and retire elsewhere, shall be at liberty to do so without difficulty.

V. That the porte shall henceforth guarantee the kingdoms of Grufinia or Georgia and the adjacent countries.

VI. That it shall strive to do the same in regard to Caucasus.

VII. That it shall undertake to put a stop to the piracies of the barbarian corsairs, and to indemnify the subjects of Russia for the losses they may sustain by the failure of execution of the three preceding articles.

VIII. That the russian, greek, moldavian, polish, and other prisoners shall be set at liberty.

No. X.

Some PARTICULARS of the UKASE or EDICT published in regard to the FRENCH established in RUSSIA.

AFTER a preamble against the french revolution, the empress adds: 1. All the effects of the treaty of commerce concluded the 30th of December 1786, between us and the late king Louis XVI. are suspended, till such time as order shall be re-established, and there shall be a legitimate authority in France. 2. We prohibit, till that same time, the entrance of french ships, whether under their own or under foreign colours, into all our ports situate in the several seas; and

and we likewise forbid all our merchants and masters of ships to cause their vessels to enter the ports of France. 3. We command the ci-devant consuls, agents, &c. to withdraw from our two residences; and that a term of three weeks shall be prescribed to them for settling their affairs, and being without the frontiers of Russia. 4. We in like manner command all our consuls, &c. and in general all Russians of both sexes, to quit, without delay, the kingdom of France. . . . 5. We command that none tolerate, and that they remove from our empire all the French, of either sex, without exception. 6. We except the French who, being summoned before the government of the place where they are settled, shall testify a sincere desire to abjure the principles that are now in vogue in their country. It shall be clearly represented to them, that their abjuration shall be inserted in the Russian and foreign gazettes, together with the names of those who shall have sworn and subscribed it.

Form of the abjuration. — “ I, the underwritten, swear by
 “ Almighty God, and by his holy gospel, that, as I have
 “ never, wittingly or willingly, given my approbation to the
 “ impious and seditious principles that have been introduced
 “ into France, and that I confess the government which has
 “ just been established there to be unlawful and usurped, in
 “ violation of all laws. That I am convinced in my
 “ conscience, of the excellence of that religion which has been
 “ transmitted to me by my ancestors. I promise, and
 “ bind myself, in consequence, so long as I shall enjoy the
 “ secure protection which her imperial majesty of all the
 “ Russias has graciously vouchsafed to grant me, to live in the
 “ observance of the precepts of the religion in which I was
 “ born; to be submissive to the laws and to the government
 “ of her imperial majesty; to break off all correspondence in
 “ my native country with the French who acknowledge the
 “ monstrous form of government now existing in France. . . .
 “ And in case I should ever be guilty of a violation of this
 “ oath, I submit myself to all the severity of the laws in this
 “ life,

“life, and, for that which is to come, to the tremendous
 “judgment of God. And in confirmation of this oath, I kiss
 “the holy gospel and the cross of my Saviour.”

No. XI.

ABOLITION *of the MESSAGES relative to FAMILY EVENTS between SWEDEN and RUSSIA.*

THE king of Sweden thought it his duty, on occasion of the recent resolution of his marriage, to give a princess [the empress of Russia], who is his relation and his ally, the same mark of attention which he has already given to the prussian and danish majesties, to whom he is equally attached by the bands of amity and good neighbourhood. It is therefore with the utmost astonishment, that his majesty has seen that the empress of Russia in no respect corresponded with this attention. The king has, in consequence, resolved in future to receive none of those private missions which have relation to family events, and which have hitherto been customary between the two courts, but which the king has now abolished for ever.

No. XII.

ACT *by which COURLAND, SEMIGALLIA, and the CIRCLE of PILTEN, surrendered themselves to the EMPRESS of RUSSIA.*

I. WE submit ourselves for ourselves and our posterity, ourselves and the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, to her imperial majesty Catharine II. empress of all the Russias, gloriously reigning, and to her sovereign sceptre.

II. W.

II. We know by experience the great inconvenience of the feudal system which attached us to the paramount sovereignty of Poland, and how greatly it opposed the general prosperity of the country. We imitate our ancestors of that part of Livonia beyond the Dvina, who, in 1561, renouncing the supremacy of the emperor and of the empire, consequently the feudal system of that time, and the mediate government of the teutonic order, submitted themselves immediately to Poland. We renounce for ourselves and our posterity the feudal system which has subsisted hitherto under the polish supremacy, and the mediate government resulting from it. We submit ourselves immediately to her imperial majesty of all the Russias and to her sceptre. We resign to her, with the more confidence and respect, the more particular decision of our lot, as her said majesty has hitherto shewn herself the generous protectress and guarantee of all our rights, of our laws, of our customs, of our immunities, of our privileges *, and of our possessions. She will certainly be disposed, according to her magnanimous and benevolent way of thinking, to ameliorate, in her maternal sollicitude, the future lot of a country which submits itself to her with the most respectful and the most unlimited confidence.

III. A deputation of six persons shall go to Petersburg, to solicit her imperial majesty to deign to accept of our entire submission; and in that case, to take there to her imperial majesty the oath of fidelity and obedience.

* Witness, when the russian troops re-instated Biren by open force.

No. XIII.

*FORM of the INDIVIDUAL OATH exacted of the LITHUANIANS
and the POLES.*

"I N. N. promise and swear to God Almighty, by his
 "holy gospel, to be always ready to serve, faithfully and
 "loyally, her imperial majesty the most serene empress, grand
 "lady, Catharine Alexievna, autocratrix of all the Russias
 "and her well-beloved son, grand duke Paul Petrovitch, her
 "lawful successor, to go for that purpose to yield up my life,
 "and to shed the last drop of my blood; to pay due and per-
 "fect obedience to the commands already issued, or hereafter
 "to issue, from the authorities appointed by her; to fulfil and
 "maintain them all conscientiously to the best of my power;
 "to contribute, with all my strength, to the maintenance of
 "the peace and quiet which her majesty has established in my
 "country, and to have no communication or intelligence
 "whatever with the disturbers of that quiet, either mediately
 "or immediately, either publicly or privately, either by ac-
 "tions or by advice, and whatever be the particular occasion,
 "circumstance, or cause that may lead to it.

"In case, on the contrary, any thing should come to my
 "knowledge prejudicial to the interests of her imperial majesty,
 "or to the general welfare, I will not only strive to remove at
 "the time, but I will oppose it with all the means that shall
 "be in my power, to hinder it from coming to pass. I will so
 "conduct myself in all my actions as it behoves me, like a
 "faithful citizen, to behave towards the authorities which
 "her majesty has set over me, and as I must answer for it to
 "God and to his terrible judgment. So may God help me, as
 "well in my body as in my soul!

"In confirmation of the profession made by this oath, I kiss
 "the holy word and the cross of my Saviour."

No. XIV.

RUSSIAN DECLARATION.

THE intentions which her majesty the empress of all the Russias has caused to be announced in the declaration delivered on the 7-18th May, last year, by her minister at Warsaw, upon the occasion of her troops entering Poland, were without contradiction of a nature for obtaining the suffrage, deference, and one might even add, thankfulness of the whole polish nation. However, all Europe has seen in what manner they have been received and appropriated.

To open to the confederation of Targovich the road by which they might attain the exercise of their rights and legal power, it was necessary to take up arms, and the authors of the revolution of the 3d of May 1791, and their adherents, have not quitted the career by which they have provoked the russian troops, until after they were vanquished by their efforts.

But if open resistance ceased, it was only to make room for secret machinations, whose developed springs are the more dangerous, as they often escape the most attentive vigilance, and even the reach of the law.

The spirit of faction and disturbance has shot such deep roots, that those who mischievously foment and propagate them, after having been unsuccessful in their cabals at foreign courts to render the views of Russia suspicious to them, have endeavoured to delude the multitude, always easy to be overtaken, and succeeded in making them share in the hatred and animosity they have conceived against this empire, for having frustrated them in their criminal expectations.

Without speaking about several facts of public notoriety, that prove the mischievous disposition of the greatest number of the Polanders, let it suffice to mention, that they have been

known to abuse even the principles of humanity and of moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empress's army, pursuant to the express orders they had received, conformed their conduct and actions; and to burst out against them in all manner of insults and bad proceedings, insomuch that the most audacious durst to make mention of Sicilian Vespers; and threaten to make them undergo the same.

Such is the reward which these enemies of tranquillity and of good order, whom her imperial majesty was willing to re-establish and secure in their native country, reserved for her generous intentions.

From this, one may guess at the sincerity of the accession of most among them to the now existing confederation, and also at the duration and solidity of the peace, both abroad and in the bosom of the republic.

But the empress, accustomed for these thirty years to struggle against the continual agitations of this state, and trusting to the means Providence gave her to contain within their bounds the dissensions which have reigned there until this day, would have persevered in her disinterested exertions, and continued to bury in oblivion all the grievances she has to lay to its charge; and also the lawful pretensions to which they entitle her, if inconveniences of a still more serious nature were not to be apprehended. The unnatural delirium of a people, of late so flourishing, now degraded, dismembered, and on the brink of an abyss ready to swallow them, instead of being an object of horror for those factious persons, appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the bosom of the republic that infernal doctrine, which a sect, altogether impious, sacrilegious, and absurd, has engendered, to the misfortune and dissolution of all religious, civil, and political societies.

Clubs, which are connected with the jacobin clubs at Paris, are already established in the capital, as well as in several provinces of Poland; they distil their poison in a secret manner, fill the people's minds with it, and cause them to ferment.

The

The establishment of an axiom so dangerous for all powers whose states border upon the dominions of the republic, must naturally excite their attention. They have in conjunction taken the most proper measures for stifling the evil before it came to maturity, and preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers. Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Prussia, with the assent of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, have found no other effectual means for their respective safety than by confining the republic of Poland within narrower bounds, by awarding to her an existence and propositions, which best suit an intermediary power, and which facilitate to her the means of securing and preserving herself, without prejudicing her former liberty, with a government that is wisely regulated, and at the same time active enough to prevent and repress all disorders and disturbances that have so often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpose, their majesties the empress of all the Russias and the king of Prussia, being united in perfect harmony of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire subversion that threatens the republic after the discord that has divided it, and especially by those monstrous and erroneous opinions that began to manifest themselves, than by uniting to their respective states those of the provinces which actually border upon the same, and by taking an immediate and effectual possession of them, in order to shelter them in time from the fatal effects of these very opinions which are propagated with so much zeal.

Their said majesties, by announcing to the whole polish nation in general the firm resolutions they have taken on this head, invite them to assemble as soon as possible in a diet, for the purpose of proceeding to an amicable regulation concerning this object, and to concur with the salutary intention they have for securing to her in future a state of undisturbed peace fixed on a stable and solid basis.

Given at Grodno, the 29th of March O. S. 9th April 1793.

JAMES DE SIEVERS,

Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias.

NOTE delivered on the 28th of April, by the illustrious GENERAL CONFEDERATION, to his exc. M. DE SIEVERS, Ambassador Extraordinary of her Majesty the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, in ANSWER to those of that MINISTER, under date of the 18th ult.

THE general confederation of the two nations having enjoined the under-signed to answer the notes of his excellency M. de Sievers, the ambassador or extraordinary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, dated the 9th and 18th of the present month, they find themselves charged and constrained to confess that the confederation never expected a declaration of seizing on the provinces of the republic, and that they on the receipt of the first note, have of course found themselves in the difficult and arduous situation of conciliating the painful sentiments they experienced respecting the regard due to neighbouring and allied powers ; a situation which alone was the cause of a longer deliberation.

The general confederation thought that they might indeed suppose, by the purport of the notes delivered to them, both on the part of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, and on the part of his prussian majesty, that the taking of the wealthiest provinces of the republic of Poland, and whose extent exceeds that which is left her, is no longer an object of negotiation susceptible of a mutual arrangement but rather a declaration of what these two powers have pleased to submit under their dominion ; and it has consequently appeared to the general confederation, that no power whatsoever, not even that of the diet, being able to avert the disaster which unexpectedly has befallen the republic, it would have been the duty of the said confederation, who with a solemn oath have bound themselves in the face of the church, to maintain the integrity of the country to the smallest particle, to withdraw themselves

themselves from the least participation of any thing that might render them justly perjurers. The deliberations then only run upon proper means of saving the honour of a clear and irreproachable conscience; but since the confederation have found themselves to be unable to serve the country in a useful manner, and to deserve by a loyal counter-declaration to see themselves rather pitied than despised, after an event they can in no ways reproach themselves with, and of which they hope to be cleared by an equitable and compassionate public.

Amidst a contest of such sensations as these, the second note of his excellency the ambassador, dated April the 18th, was handed to the general confederation, who are besides forced to fear the reproaches of the nation concerning their inaction, especially after having been informed, that whatever was furnished to the numerous army of her imperial majesty, should not be refunded till the universals were published, in order to assemble an extraordinary diet.

Finally, they have charged the underwritten to declare in the name of the general confederation, and by their express order, that the said confederation think themselves fully absolved in the sight of the Supreme Being, and the equitable judgments of the neighbouring and allied powers, as of their own impartial countrymen, concerning any participation whatever in the plan of dividing Poland, and relative to the measures they adopt, pursuant to the laws guaranteed by those very powers—by recalling the members of the permanent council, who have not given an account yet of their past administration—by replacing with new members those that are lawfully excluded — and to further the complement established by the law of 1775; by restoring besides to this magistracy all the activity given them, to the end of effectually relieving the pressing exigencies of the republic, and of continuing its government.

The underwritten are in hopes his excellency the ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty, will find this present answer as loyal and just as all the actions of the confederation

have always been, and that he will acquaint his court with it, rectifying whatever may have been the effect of a too limited power by an oath of the said confederation taken in a solemn manner.

PUTAVOKI,

Vice-marshal of the confederation of Lithuania.

ZABIELLO,

Marshal of the confederation of the crown.

Warsaw, May 8.

No. XV.

UNIVERSAL, *published in the Name of the EMPRESS in the heretofore POLISH PROVINCES, now under her Dominion.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empress and sovereign of all the Russias,

TO all the inhabitants of the provinces forming in former times a part of the demesnes of the republic of Poland, and now actually united to our empire, greeting: and we give them notice, assuring them of our imperial good will, of our having united to our states the polish provinces which of old essentially formed part of them, which were separated from them in critical times, that which ever since that epoch did not cease to be exposed to all the destructive effects of domestic disturbances, disorder, and dissensions, and causing the most fatal infringements, not only upon public tranquillity, but also upon the safety and welfare of individuals. On one hand, the records of ancient history; on the other, the events that took place under our eye, present to us on every side the doleful detail of disastrous revolutions; long and murderous wars; in short, disasters of every denomination, which the people established in these provinces must have experienced before they came again under our dominion, and shared the glory

glory and prosperity our empire at present enjoys, and which proclaims its fame in all corners of the world. At last, however, they are about to taste this happiness, which spreads itself over all our subjects; and our views, by taking possession again of these provinces, have been and will always be, to secure in them the tranquillity of the citizens; to establish therein a wise government, under which each individual may obtain the justice he has a right to claim, and to give to this constitutional form of government a more lasting basis; wherefore we think the first and the most agreeable of our obligations, and as it were a duty imposed upon us by the Almighty himself, is that of anticipating by our imperial good-will all the wishes of the citizens of these districts, and of leading them all equally to the path of felicity, as much as it lies in our power. Faithful to these principles, we have not only guaranteed to each of them the safety of their persons and property, but we moreover intend to indemnify them for the damages they have sustained through the disturbances and disorders which took place in these provinces, through the marching of troops, and especially in the last war, of which this part has been the chief seat. Wishing moreover to give them the first token of our maternal solicitude, we have given orders to our general governor of the said provinces, M. Krechetnikof, to cause an accurate inventory to be made of those damages; nevertheless, we farther prohibit the collecting from any class of citizens, of any kind of taxes or contributions whatever, for the benefit of our treasury, from this day forward to the first of January 1795, except, such voluntary gifts as the citizens should offer of their own accord, and which, therefore, cannot be a burden to any body whatever; reserving our farther dispositions on this head. We permit also the collection on the old footing, till we shall order it otherwise, of all the tolls and duties inwards, according to the already-established custom-house officers, or that are able to be so on the new frontiers of the empire of Russia, as being indispensably necessary in the present juncture, for the establishment

ment and maintenance of the government, and the chancery of our imperial Fiscus.

The first action of our authority being a testimony of benevolence in favour of subjects that are newly come under our dominion, and of solicitude for the welfare of the country they inhabit, we are apt to think that they will gratefully receive this mark of favour, and will know how to value, as they ought to do, the desire we announce here of gaining their hearts by our favours, and to attach them to their ancient mother country, by the hopes of the advantages we offer them instead of subduing them by dint of arms. We hope that, answering our generous views, they will send up to Heaven their thanksgivings for their being returned into the bosom of their ancient mother-country, that adopts them for the second time; that the object of their zeal and of their endeavours will be, to corroborate them in the fealty they owe us, and in a constant submission to our laws; that they will unite themselves with heart and soul to our faithful subjects the Russians; that, in short, they will form, as they did formerly, a respectable nation, always tractable, always faithful to their monarchs, always valiant and invincible, whereby they will render themselves truly worthy of the solicitude we shew to them, as a tender mother, who only wishes for the happiness of her children.

Given in the city of St. Petersburg, our imperial residence, the 24th of April 1793, of the birth of Jesus Christ; of our dominion over all the Russias the 31st, and over Taurida the 10th.

(Signed)

CATHARINE.

No. XVI.

REMONSTRANCES *made to the* COUNT DE SIEVERS, *the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR, *on the Part of the* KING *and the* STATES OF POLAND *by the* CHANCELLOR *of the* CROWN, *and of the* GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA.

THE king, and the confederated states of the republic, having had notice of a second violence committed to-day upon the deputies of the nation, of whom many have been arrested at their houses — feeling with sorrow the injuries which a free and independent nation has suffered from a foreign power, and not being able to continue legally our deliberations without the presence of those members of the diet, we have ordered unanimously the chancellor to present, in our name, a note to the russian ambassador, to represent to him the general sensation which such a proceeding has occasioned, and to demand the immediate enlargement of the persons arrested.

Having also learned, that the ambassador had ordered the provisions destined for the use of the king to be intercepted, and the estates of M. Tyskievitch, marshal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, to be sequestrated, which gives us reason to apprehend that in future such violences may be increased, we resolved unanimously, that the chancellor shall make to the ambassador suitable representations on the subject, insisting that such orders should be countermanded, as well with regard to the king's domains, as the sequestration of the estates of which the violation has not yet come to our knowledge, and that the ambassador will henceforth be pleased to abstain from giving such orders.

A copy of this note shall be communicated to all the foreign ministers residing near the king's person, and the states assembled.

Done at Grodno, July 11, 1793.

NOTE delivered to M. DE SIEVERS.

THE undersigned have the honour, by the express command of the king and the confederate diet, to display to the ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the empress of Russia the reasons which plainly militate against the cession of the provinces of the republic of Poland, taken possession of in the course of the present year by the Prussian troops, and demanded by the court of Berlin.

It is notorious, that the treaties of 1773 and 1790, on the part of the court of Berlin, secured not only the possession of those provinces, but also guaranteed their defence.

No infringement of those treaties on the part of Poland has been adduced, nor can be adduced; whereas, on the contrary, the republic, since 1773, has not ceased, by various reiterated notes, to complain of open transgressions respecting the non-performance of several articles of the treaty of 1773, which assure to the subjects of the republic of Poland a free commerce in all the prussian territories, and likewise the free passage of their productions through the same territories into other states.

The event of the 31st of May, 1791, cannot be adduced by the court of Berlin as a motive for seizing the provinces of the republic, since there are authentic documents, by which the king of Prussia expressed, in the most marked terms, his approbation of that event, and even intimated that he found it much to his advantage.

With regard to the charge of jacobinism, we have already sufficiently evinced, by the many circumstantial answers given, that this pernicious doctrine has never yet infected the bosom of the polish nation, and that government has taken the most vigorous and most energetic measures that it should not spread in Poland by any foreign emissary that might be employed for that purpose.

The confederate states of the republic being thus convinced that they have given no reason to the king of Prussia which can warrant the taking possession of the polish provinces by his troops, have expressly charged the undersigned to have recourse, by a note, in the most urgent manner, to the generosity and equity of the empress of Russia, to induce her to interpose in the most powerful manner with the king of Prussia, in order to avert the misfortunes with which Poland is threatened, and already unfortunately overwhelmed.

The confederate diet apply by this request, and with the more hope to the empress of Russia, as they have recently given the most convincing proofs to that great princess, of the confidence they repose in her, and the reverence they feel for her authority.

Of this charge the undersigned acquit themselves, in virtue of the express orders of the king and the confederate states, in diet assembled.

(Signed)

PRINCE SULKOWSKY,
Grand chancellor of the crown.
CASIMIR PLATER,
Vice-chancellor of Lithuania.

Grodno, July 27, 1793.

ANSWER of the RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

THE undersigned, however flattering he finds the new proofs of confidence which the states of the republic repose in her imperial majesty, his mistress, can as little agree to the least delay respecting the overture of the negotiations with the prussian ambassador. The states are immediately to furnish the delegation with the desired instructions and powers. The readiness which will be shewn for that purpose, will serve as the measure of the interference which her imperial majesty will make, in order to complete those affairs which lie so near
to

to the heart of the republic. This readiness will likewise induce the king of Prussia to make favourable commercial arrangements, and to regulate other important objects.

The undersigned is ready to interpose his mediation whenever he shall be called upon in the said negotiation, the speedy conclusion of which has been recently prescribed to him by the empress his sovereign.

(Signed) JAMES DE SIEVERS.

For three successive days the diet was assailed with official notes from the russian ambassador and the prussian minister, full of threats and menaces, pressing the signature of the treaty. The states, however, persisted in their refusal. At last M. de Sievers, the russian ambassador, sent in his *ultimatum* in a note, which ended with the following expressions :

“ The underwritten must besides inform the states of the republic assembled in the confederate diet, that he thought it of absolute necessity, in order to prevent every disorder, to order *two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to surround the castle*, under the command of major-general Rautenfeldt, who is to concert measures with the grand marshal of Lithuania for securing the tranquillity of their deliberations. The under-written expects that the sitting will not terminate until the demanded signature of the treaty is decided.”

Done at Grodno, the 2d of September, 1793.

DECREE of the DIET, passed on the 2d of September, at GRODNO, empowering the DEPUTATION to treat with the PRUSSIAN MINISTER.

WE the king, together with the confederate states of the republic assembled in diet, having heard the report of the deputation

putation appointed to negotiate with the minister of the king of Prussia, and seen the plan of the proposed treaty—Whereas it appears, that, notwithstanding the mediation of the russian ambassador, the court of Berlin persists in measures detrimental to the republic, and that hardly a modification of some of the articles in that treaty was obtained, whereby we find ourselves in the highest degree oppressed: Therefore, far from acknowledging the pretended legality of right whereby the court of Berlin endeavours to justify its violence exerted towards the republic, but, on the contrary, adhering most strictly to our former declaration by the note given in answer to those of the two allied courts—Declare before all Europe, to whom we have repeatedly appealed, That, founded on the faith of treaties most sacredly observed on our part, as well as on that of the treaty recently entered into with his majesty the king of Prussia, and *at his own desire*, in the year 1790, (whereby the independence and the integrity of Poland were guaranteed in the most solemn manner,) being deprived of free-will, surrounded at this very moment of the present act by an armed foreign force, and threatened with a further invasion of the prussian troops, to the end of ruining our remaining territories, we are forced to commission and authorise the said deputation to sign the treaty, such as it was planned and amended under the mediation of the russian ambassador, containing in particular this clause—“That it shall be guaranteed by her majesty the empress of Russia, his sovereign, with all separate articles relating thereto, especially in regard to commerce, clergy, security of the republic, and of the inhabitants, either wholly comprised under foreign dominion, or possessing property in both countries; namely, that the present prince primate of Poland might reside constantly within the republic, for attending to his high office, and enjoy his entire revenues; also, that in case of the family of the princes Radzivil being extinct, the house of Brandenburg should not form any pretension to their succession, which shall belong to the

the

the republic." With the following alteration, however, of the last article in the said treaty ; " That we the king will not ratify such treaty of cession, both in our and in the republic's name, unless the treaty of commerce, and all separate articles mutually agreed on, under the accepted mediation and guarantee of the court of Russia, by both parties, shall be finally settled and signed by the contracting powers."

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